

**BETWEEN/BEYOND THE BINARIES: TRANSGENDER YOUTH IN CAPE TOWN
RE-PRESENT THEIR EXPERIENCES THROUGH PHOTO-NARRATIVES**

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PTCSOR001

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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The UCT Knowledge Co-op facilitated this collaborative project between Triangle Project
and the University of Cape Town.

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ABSTRACT

Current literature about marginalised youth centres adult knowledges and perpetuates narratives of risk. Additionally, very little is known about young transgender persons within the South African context. Therefore, by making use of Photovoice elements, this narrative project sought to explore the lived experiences of transgender youth while simultaneously creating a space where they could discuss and re-present these experiences. The project aimed to challenge dominant narratives about transgender youth; youth gender and sexuality, and to expand transgender research in South Africa. This project also aimed to contribute to the empowerment of participants by positioning them as experts and centring their knowledges. The study was conducted in partnership with an LGBTIQ+ advocacy NGO and purposive sampling was used to recruit five trans-identifying participants between the ages of 18-26. In-depth interviews were conducted around what it means to be a young transgender person in Cape Town today, and the photographs participants took to represent these experiences. All data were analysed using thematic narrative analysis. The overarching thematic narratives that emerged were: 'Navigating Identities' and 'Living within/out the Cistem'. Within these themes, participants drew on narratives of rigidity/fluidity, exclusion/belonging, and invisibility/hypervisibility respectively. The findings illustrate the complexity of experiences of transgender youth and thus demonstrates that young peoples' lives are comprised of more than inherent risk. This project also provided an opportunity to critically reflect on Photovoice as a methodology for working with marginalised groups.

Keywords: transgender, gender identity, sexuality, Photovoice, youth, South Africa

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LIST OF TERMS

Agender:	The feeling of being gender neutral/not identifying with any gender.
Asexual:	A sexual orientation spectrum where a person experiences limited or no sexual attraction/desire for partnered sexual activity.
Bigender:	Identifying as both genders and/or moving between feminine and masculine gender expression depending on the situation.
Cisgender:	The Latin prefix ‘cis’ means ‘on the same side as’ and thus ‘cisgender’ refers to people whose gender identity aligns with their gender assigned at birth.
Cross-dressing:	Wearing clothing/make-up/accessories associated with another gender. This is a form of gender expression – and is not a performance for entertainment - and individuals may not wish to fully transition. ‘Cross-dresser’ is preferred rather than ‘transvestite’.
Drag:	Wearing clothing/make-up/accessories associated with another gender. Commonly used in performance contexts.
FTM:	Female-to-Male. A person who was assigned female at birth but presently identifies as male, is living as male, or feels male centred. The term includes a range of identities, but not all persons are comfortable with it as they feel it reinforces the gender binary.

Gay-straight alliances:	Found mostly in North America, these are community or school-based organisations that aim to create a supportive and safe space for LGBTIQ+ youth and their allies.
Gender affirming care:	This refers to psychosocial support and/or medical interventions (such as hormones or surgery) that can assist a person in transitioning. The term ‘sexual reassignment’ is no longer used.
Gender assigned at birth:	The gender one is given at birth. This is usually based on one’s external sex characteristics such as genitalia.
Gender bending/blending:	The practice of bending, blending, mixing, and changing societal conventions of masculine and feminine gender expression.
Gender binary:	The social construction of two opposite genders: female and male. This often includes the requirement that a person must adhere to one <i>or</i> the other.
Gender expression:	How an individual chooses to express their gender externally. This can involve one’s clothing, hairstyle, make-up, behaviour, pronouns, and/or name.
Gender fluid:	A term used to describe someone who experiences a spectrum of maleness and femaleness or may move between genders.
Gender identity:	An individual’s internal sense of their own gender. This may be different to the gender they were assigned at birth. Gender identity can also change over time.

Gender non-conforming:	Also denoted by ‘GNC’. Gender identity and/or expression that does not align with specific cultural/societal expectations of gender. It is important to note that not all GNC persons identify as transgender and not all transgender persons are GNC.
Genderqueer:	An overarching term for persons whose gender identity is beyond, outside, or not included in the female/male binary.
Heteronormativity:	The socially constructed idea that all people should fall within the gender binary. It also takes heterosexual partnerships as the norm. ‘Cis’ may be added at the beginning to highlight how cisgender identities are also naturalised within society.
Intersex:	Someone who is born with an internal reproductive system, external genitalia, and/or sex chromosomes, that are not considered to be in alignment with either the female or male sex.
LGBTIQ+:	Acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer, questioning and any other sexual or gender minority identity.
MSM:	Men who have sex with men. A term used within the public health field. However, it is argued that the term obscures the social aspects of sexuality; erases self-identification, and inadequately captures variations in sexual behaviour.
MTF:	Male-to-female. A person who was assigned male at birth but presently identifies as female, is living as female, or feels female centred. The term includes a range of identities, but not

all persons are comfortable with it as they feel it reinforces the gender binary.

Non-binary:	A gender identity that is neither female nor male, or falls outside/beyond traditional understandings of masculinity and femininity.
Pangender:	Someone whose gender identity is made up of many gender identities and/or expressions.
Queer:	An umbrella term that represents a great variety of identities outside of normative ideas of gender, sexuality, and monogamous relationships.
Questioning:	An individual who is in the process of questioning their gender identity, gender expression, and/or sexuality.
Transition:	Refers to any steps a person may take to alter their gender assigned at birth. This may include personal, social, medical, and/or legal changes. Transitioning is different for each person, and while some may choose to fully transition, others may choose to alter one or a few things.
Transphobia:	Fear/hatred of and violence towards those who are seen as disrupting or challenging hegemonic ideas about gender.
Transsexual:	This term originated in the psychological and medical fields and is now considered outdated or even offensive by some. It refers to persons who have permanently changed (or wish to change) their bodies through hormones and/or surgery.

Some still prefer this term, although, unlike
'transgender' it is not used as an umbrella term.

WSW: Women who have sex with women. Same problems apply as
with 'men who have sex with men'.

CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION

South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, yet, persons from marginalised groups still experience daily instances of injustice and violence. Some of these groups are: young people and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ+) individuals. Youth that sit at the intersection of these identities are thus seen as being especially vulnerable. Despite this, work focusing on issues of gender equality and non-violence has largely excluded LGBTIQ+ youth. Transgender youth in particular are often obscured under the LGBTIQ+ banner. Furthermore, most research about young people, specifically with regards to gender and sexuality, privileges adult knowledges that perpetuate narratives of risk (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). Given this context, it is necessary to focus exclusively on transgender youth in order to centre their lived experiences and foreground alternative expressions of gender, while simultaneously challenging dominant narratives of ‘youth at risk’.

In this introductory chapter, the issues outlined above are elaborated on in order to contextualise this dissertation about the lived experiences of transgender youth in Cape Town. I start by providing an overview of how youth research within the social sciences is framed. Issues pertaining to youth gender and sexuality in South Africa are then outlined, and this is followed by a focus on LGBTIQ+ young persons. I then discuss some of the complexities surrounding identity language, and what is meant by ‘transgender’. To close, an overview of the entire dissertation is given.

1.1 Approaches to Youth Research

In recent decades, social science research has established young people as a group in need of investigation and intervention, and, consequently, questions about how youth should be educated, protected, policed, and employed have proliferated. Such literature has

propagated two different, but related, narratives about young persons (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). Firstly, the transition narrative. Herein, youth is seen as a time of perpetual change, ‘becoming’ (Kelly, 2000), or ‘waithood’ (Honwana, 2012). Thus, youth is not seen as a developmental period on its own, but rather as a phase along the pathway to stable adulthood (Waites, 2005). Such a future-focused narrative constructs the present experience of youth as a time of threatening instability, that, if not carefully managed, could jeopardise preferred futures (Kelly, 2000). Additionally, constructing youth as a time of constant, turbulent change, pathologises being young (Waites, 2005). In this way, the transition narrative reinforces the second narrative: youth as continually ‘at risk’. This narrative is argued to originate from historical concerns about young people being “delinquent, deviant and disadvantaged” (Kelly, 2000, p. 463; Swadener & Lubeck, 1995). Youth-at-risk literature has grown extensively in the last few decades, and Withers and Batten (1995) have outlined how such a preoccupation has emerged from two separate avenues. The ‘humanistic intention’ aims to reduce harm and danger, while offering care and support for those deemed at risk (Kelly, 2000). Alternatively, the ‘economic intention’ emphasises the financial benefits of monitoring and regulating ‘youth at risk’. Such risk narratives can be applied to almost every aspect of young people’s lives, and thus, the possibilities for regulation are “endless” (Tait, 1995, p. 128). The transition and risk narratives work together to legitimate young people’s lives as sites of intervention (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). Furthermore, they encourage the production of adult-centred knowledges that construe youth as passive and ignore the complexities of young people’s experiences (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018). These narrative patterns therefore present an opportunity to explore the lives of young people from different perspectives (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018).

1.2 Gender and Sexuality amongst Youth in South Africa

Of all potential areas of investigation, youth's gender and sexuality has been the most problematised. Indeed, Sharland (2006) argues that it is young people's sexuality in particular that prompts the greatest anxiety. This is not unwarranted, as contemporary youth in South Africa face multiple challenges with regards to navigating their gender and sexual identities. For example, high rates of gender-based and sexual violence among young people have received ongoing attention (Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007, 2008). Additionally, young women aged 15-24 are the most at risk for HIV infection (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010; Shisana, Rice, Zungu, & Zuma, 2010). Research has highlighted a number of factors that contribute to such realities, such as: the patriarchal structure of society that permits violence (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005; Petersen, Bhana, & McKay, 2005); the performance of masculinity through ideas of sexual entitlement, multiple sexual partners, and forced sex (Bhana & Pattman, 2009; Salo, 2002; Varga, 2003), and how male violence has become 'normalised' within young people's relationships (Wood et al., 1998; Wood et al., 2007, 2008). Heteronormativity and heterosexuality have rightly been identified as central to perpetuating such gender dynamics (Shefer & Potgieter, 2006). However, this focus contributes to narratives which equate development into adulthood with 'achieving' heterosexuality (Boonzaier & Kessi, 2018; Shefer & Potgieter, 2006) and it excludes LGBTIQ+ youth from mainstream South African research (Kowen & Davis, 2006; Nell & Shapiro, 2011). LGBTIQ+ youth thus warrant more attention within the context of gender equality and sexual health programming.

1.3 LGBTIQ+ Youth in South Africa

In congruence with broader patterns within youth literature, LGBTIQ+ youth have primarily been viewed through the lens of risk. This has manifested in much research from the global west focusing on the minority stress model (Meyer, 2003). This model suggests

that LGBTIQ+ people experience a particular set of stressors – such as stigma and prejudice - and that these stressors can cause poor physical and mental health outcomes (Meyer & Frost, 2013). Indeed, it has been found that mental health concerns are correlated with homophobic victimisation, and that gay and lesbian youth have higher levels of depression, substance abuse, and suicidal ideation than heterosexual youth (Burton, Marshal, Chisolm, Sucato, & Friedman, 2013; Duncan & Hatzenbeuhler, 2014; Marshal et al., 2011; Meyer, 2003; Russell, Ryan, Toomey, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2011). Although minority stress research has traditionally focused on LGB persons, similar results have been found for transgender and gender non-conforming people (Bockting, Miner, Swinburne Romine, Hamilton, & Coleman, 2013; Hendricks & Testa, 2012; Testa, Habarth, Peta, Balsam, & Bockting, 2015). Again, most of the research has emerged from the global west. LGB youth have, in recent years, been focused on as a group within South African research, however, very few large-scale studies have been conducted (Richardson, 2006). Smaller-scale studies have followed similar themes to overseas research that has investigated experiences of homophobia and harassment within the school context (Butler, Alpaslan, Strümpher, & Astbury, 2003; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Msibi, 2012; Potgieter & Reygan, 2012). Yet, transgender youth remain excluded from such research endeavours, and the fact that there are currently no South African statistics on transgender individuals speaks to this problem (Husakouskaya, 2013). Of the literature that does exist, most of it focuses on transgender sex workers (Richter, Chersich, Temmerman & Luchters, 2013; Samudzi & Mannell, 2016) and transgender persons as a high-risk group for contracting HIV/AIDS (Jobson, Theron, Kaggwa, & Kim, 2012), which reinforces the risk narrative described earlier. These gaps present an opportunity to explore the lived experiences of transgender youth in South Africa, while simultaneously uncovering alternative ways to engage with youth research.

1.4 ‘Transgender’, Language and Identity

1.4.1 Reflections on identity language. Beemyn (2003) states that, “complicating any discussion of transgender issues is the lack of sufficient vocabulary... it is not simply the absence of terminology that has been problematic; existing language also fails to capture the complexities of gender” (p. 35). This paucity of vocabulary and/or definitions can mean that existing terms include some while excluding others (Sanger, 2008). For example, much early biomedical and psychological research made use of the term ‘transsexual’ for any gender diverse person. However, using this as a blanket term for all transgender persons erases those who do not wish to have gender affirming surgery (Kuper, Nussbaum & Mustanski, 2012). Additionally, ‘transgender’ is conceptualised as an umbrella term for numerous gender variant identities, however, not all persons who are included in this umbrella self-identity as transgender (Valentine, 2007). Conversely, the multiple and complex ways that those who do identify as transgender express and experience their gender, makes an exact definition of the term elusive. Therefore, researchers may allocate a gender identity to particular persons without their consent, and regardless of their self-identification (Kuper et al., 2012). Not only does this erase transgender individuals’ agency around identification, but it also makes comparisons between research results difficult.

Given this complex linguistic landscape, trans/gender identity language is continually changing, as individuals and communities create and reclaim terms to describe themselves. As such, I have endeavoured to follow the ever-changing trans/gender vocabularies to the best of my ability; however, this dissertation does not claim to be a definitive text on trans/gender identity language. Additionally, I am certain that within a brief period of time, the language used herein will become dated.

1.4.2 Definitions and identity labels. The term ‘transgender’ is defined in contemporary research as an umbrella term that, “denotes a range of gender experiences,

subjectivities and presentations that fall across, between or beyond stable categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman’” (Hines, 2010, p. 1). Within western academic and activist discourse of the last 10 years, ‘transgender’ has become an overarching term for a wide range of gender diverse identities and practices (Stryker, 2008). In English speaking countries, these include, but are not limited to: intersexuality, transsexuality, genderqueer, gender bending/blending, gender fluidity, pangender, agender, bigender, female and male drag, and cross-dressing. Some terms from other regions that denote trans identities are: *hijra* (South Asia), *travestis* (Brazil), *muxes* (Mexico), *yan daudu* (Nigeria), *khanith* (Arabian Peninsula), *Sambia boys* (Papua New Guinea), *fa’afafine* (Polynesia) and *kathoey* (Thailand). Although these terms generally refer to gender identities that disrupt the gender binary, there are differences in terms of their specific meaning within each cultural grouping (Diehl et al., 2017). Furthermore, Ocha (2015) has cautioned against searching for cross-cultural similarity when it comes to gender terms, as doing so imposes western transgender theory onto gender liminal persons in non-western contexts and thus can be an act of colonisation (Roen, 2006). Therefore, the above listing of terms is not an effort to equate western transgender constructs with gender constructs in other cultures, but rather to highlight the diversity of language when it comes to trans/gender.

Transgender persons may identify as female, male, transwoman/transfeminine, transman/transmasculine, transgender, transsexual, or by numerous other terms and combinations. Self-identification may also change over time – particularly for young trans persons (Beemyn, Domingue, Pettitt & Smith, 2005). Within lay discourse, the term ‘transgender’ is often used in its narrower meaning - referring to people who have completely transitioned from one gender to another (Sausa, Keatley, & Operario, 2007). However, this dissertation makes use of the term in its broader sense in an attempt to move away from discourses that limit what it means to be transgender. In this dissertation, I also frequently

make use of ‘trans’ as shorthand for ‘transgender’. This is accepted practice within research and activist spaces.

1.5 Research Aims and Overview

This dissertation forms part of a broader research project that uses photo-narrative methods to explore how young people in South Africa understand and represent their gender and sexuality. Within this framework, this dissertation aims to expand transgender youth research in South Africa, while simultaneously creating a space where transgender youth can re-present themselves on their own terms, and thus challenge dominant, stigmatising narratives about their lives. In this way, this project aims to further youth-centred knowledges in the social sciences and to contribute to social transformation.

1.6 Dissertation Outline

In Chapter Two, I review the existing literature about transgender youth, as well as provide the dissertation’s rationale. I then outline the aims and research questions, as well as the methods that I used to carry out the study in Chapter Three, along with ethical and reflexive considerations. Chapter Four presents the study’s findings in the form of thematic narratives and illustrates how these relate to previous research. Lastly, Chapter Five concludes the dissertation by providing a summary of the results, a discussion of the contributions that this dissertation makes, the limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ABOUT TRANSGENDER YOUTH

Transgender research has expanded greatly within the last decade, and the past five years have seen a rapid proliferation in publications. However, research about transgender youth is still an emerging field because, until recently, it was assumed that transgender youth's concerns and experiences were similar to that of LGB youth (Pusch, 2005). While trans research has begun to develop separately from the LGB field, there is nonetheless room for improvement in this respect. Thus, the field is still growing, and greater diversity in avenues of investigation are currently being established. This chapter presents a review of the current literature regarding transgender youth from an international and South African perspective. Three broad areas of enquiry can be seen within this field: educational experiences, mental health, and healthcare. I first discuss research relating to young transgender persons' experiences of education. This will focus on schools as gendered spaces, victimisation within the school context, experiences of higher education, the consequences of transphobic educational spaces, and resistances to these. Secondly, I examine literature that focuses on the mental health of transgender youth and, in particular, suicide and life-threatening behaviours. Thirdly, I consider research involving transgender youth and healthcare, specifically HIV and access to general and gender-affirming care. I end the chapter by outlining how the present literature creates limiting narratives about transgender youth, which provides an opportunity to explore the lives of transgender youth from a different perspective – as this dissertation does.

2.1 Educational Experiences

The educational experiences of trans youth have received greater focus than other life components, given the central role that education plays in young people's lives – both in terms of time and developmental impact. While trans youth have received greater attention

recently, consideration of their educational and programming needs is still lacking (Beemyn, 2003).

2.1.1 Schools as gendered spaces. It has been found that school is one of the first places where discrimination is experienced (D'Augelli, Grossman, & Starks, 2006). This is not surprising, as educational settings have been shown to be highly gendered spaces, where cisgenderism and heterosexuality are taken as the norm, and the gender binary is often strictly enforced (Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006). Doan (2010) argues that this gendered sectioning of space is a form of gender tyranny. Likewise, Kessler, Ashenden, Connell and Dowsett (1985) speak of a 'gender regime', which is created through the everyday practices of institutions, and symbolically regulates daily life and normalises inequitable power dynamics. In this way, the seemingly mundane routines of school life are systems through which gender is structured. For example, as students enter school each day, they are already distinguished as 'male' and 'female' by their differing uniforms, and this is further embedded as they navigate the school space which is gender segregated i.e. different sports options, separate bathrooms and changing rooms, and potentially differential treatment by educators (Hargreaves, 1986; Shilling, 1991).

Trans students are thus often targeted because their gender identity and/or expression do not align with schools' gendered codes (Singh, Meng, & Hansen, 2013). Furthermore, trans students also experience higher levels of discrimination and hostility than LGB students (Greytak, Kosciw, & Diaz, 2009). While LGBT students overall experience more victimisation than their cisgender heterosexual peers, transgender learners repeatedly report the highest levels of victimisation (Kosciw & Diaz, 2006). This is because, while LGB persons challenge gender norms and roles, trans persons disrupt traditional conceptualisations of sex/gender itself i.e. that an individual's gender identity follows from their anatomy (Greytak et al., 2009). Certainly, previous research has shown how, the more an individual

departs from societal expectations around gender, the more likely they are to experience isolation and victimisation (Daley, Solomon, Newman, & Mishna, 2008). In a participatory project with transgender, queer and questioning (TQQ) students, participants explained how schools are spaces of gender rigidity, and therefore students learn that there are only two gender options (Johnson, Singh & Gonzalez, 2014). This made school a hostile environment for TQQ youth, and they felt that it prevented them from progressing in their personal and academic lives. The consequences of such gender structuring within schools is that it allows for discrimination and violence against those who do not fit these codes, such as transgender youth.

2.1.2 Victimisation in the school context. Trans learners experience victimisation on multiple levels at school. In 2006-2007 the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) conducted their fifth National School Climate Survey in the United States. While other GLSEN surveys about LGBT learners have been conducted since then, the 2009 report that emerged from this survey focused exclusively on transgender students and was the first of its kind (Greytak et al., 2009). Of the 6209 LGBT students that were surveyed, 295 identified as transgender, and the results revealed high levels of discrimination against trans youth. Verbal harassment was the most common, as 90% of trans students had experienced some form of derogatory remark relating to their gender/sexual identity within the last year (Greytak et al., 2009). Disturbingly, a third of these remarks had come from school staff members. Physical harassment was also commonplace, as over half of all trans students surveyed had experienced physical harassment (e.g. shoving/pushing) in the past year (Greytak et al., 2009). Additionally, 26% of trans students had been physically assaulted (e.g. kicked, punched, injured with a weapon) because of their gender expression (Greytak et al., 2009). Although the surveyed sample was relatively small, and majority white students, the data gives an idea of the extent of the daily violence experienced by young trans people in

their schools. Other studies have also reported similar results. For example, Kosciw, Diaz and Greytak (2008) found that almost a third of gender-nonconforming youth had been physically harassed at school, and nearly two thirds had been verbally harassed. Sausa (2005) found very high levels of harassment while at school among transgender participants, with 96% having experienced physical harassment, and 83% having experienced verbal harassment. Furthermore, trans youth also have less access to protective services within schools, and interventions that are designed to help LGB students might not necessarily be applicable to transgender students (Greytak et al., 2009; McGuire, Anderson, Toomey, & Russell, 2010).

There presently appears to be no published research solely about trans learners' experiences of schooling in South Africa. However, much has been written about how school environments in South Africa are not tolerant of gender and sexual diversity (DePalma & Francis, 2014; Francis, 2012, 2014; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Msibi, 2012). It can therefore be inferred that trans youth in South Africa might have similar educational experiences to trans youth in other countries. However, more research is needed to fully understand what these lived experiences are. Msibi (2012) argues that the invisibility around and silencing of queer learners speaks to South Africa's deeply entrenched patriarchy. Additionally, this erasure intersects with race as the experiences of black, queer learners remain mostly untold (Msibi, 2012). This is important to explore further, as Daley et al. (2008) found that gender, sexuality, race and citizenship status combined in various ways to create differential experiences of bullying for LGBT youth.

The consequences of violent school spaces. Such hostile environments mean that trans youth are more likely to miss school, receive lower grades, feel isolated, and not engage with the school community (Greytak et al., 2009). These experiences at school can also have long-term consequences. For example, Rivers (2001) showed that LGBT students who were bullied at school are more likely to experience negative affect and engage in self-harm and

suicidal ideation as adults. Likewise, compared to gender-conforming youth, gender-fluid youth, who had experienced high levels of past victimisation, reported higher levels of current psychological distress (D'Augelli et al., 2006). Harassment and bullying at school have also been shown to be predictors of psychosocial challenges in gender-fluid young adults (Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card, & Russell, 2010). These experiences can be detrimental to educational attainment, as trans-youth who have experienced bullying in high school are less likely to attend university than young cisgender people (Greytak et al., 2009).

2.1.3 Transgender youth and higher education. Current literature highlights tertiary education as a conflicting space, which simultaneously creates opportunities for greater gender exploration (Carter, 2000; Howard & Stevens, 2000) while also continuing the violences experienced at school. This is because higher education is often the first chance gender diverse students have to question their assigned gender, particularly if they are living away from home for the first time (Lees, 1998). Even with this sense of freedom, patterns of harassment seen in schools appear to be similar at tertiary institutions. For example, approximately 39% of trans-spectrum students and staff have been harassed on campus, compared to the 20% experienced by their cisgender LGB counterparts (Rankin, Weber, Blumenfeld, & Fraser, 2010).

Additionally, higher education institutions have been delayed in recognising trans students on their campuses, and even slower in acknowledging and responding to their concerns and needs (Beemyn, 2003, 2012; Beemyn, Curtis, Davis, & Tubbs, 2005). Resultantly, campuses are often organised in trans exclusionary ways. For example, gender segregated residences, healthcare programs, bathrooms, locker rooms, sports teams and administrative procedures ignore those who do not identify along the gender binary (Beemyn, 2005; Carter, 2000; Krum, Davis & Galupo, 2013). In a Photovoice project about black students' experiences at the University of Cape Town, several trans students emphasised how

the gender binaried systems of university constitute forms of symbolic violence (Cornell, Ratele, Kessi, 2016). Symbolic violence can be understood as ‘indirect’ violence, or, “power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 4). In this way, as in school spaces, by taking the gender binary system as the legitimate norm, unequal power relations are disguised, and cisgender heterosexual identities are given legitimacy over others (Cornell et al., 2016). Additionally, having to constantly negotiate this system is exhausting for trans persons, and means that everyday student activities are imbued with violence, critique and questioning (Cornell et al., 2016). Such campus climates can prevent trans students from authentically expressing themselves (Beemyn, 2003).

Despite the evidence that universities can be hostile environments for trans-students, there is very little research about the type and quality of support that is available to them on campus (Singh et al., 2013). Effrig, Bieschke and Locke (2011) also argue that as a result of the lack of literature, the effects of victimisation on the psychological well-being of trans-students cannot yet be fully understood. This lack of research is also problematic because it means that even if university management is well-intentioned, they can still actualise policies and procedures that further marginalise trans students (Beemyn, 2003). The overall outcome of these experiences is that trans students feel alienated and excluded, and “lack a sense of safety, comfort and identity” (Cornell et al., 2016, p. 102) in the spaces in which they are meant to learn.

2.1.4 Resistances. While most of the literature regarding young trans people and education focuses on the difficulties they experience, some studies have highlighted the ways in which they enact resistances. Given that most educational institutions have yet to develop comprehensive policies around supporting trans students, they often have to engage in self-advocacy. While this does place the burden for creating change on trans persons, it also

highlights trans youths' resilience and agency. For example, despite hostile campus environments, the National Transgender Discrimination Survey of 2011 found that almost 27% of the transgender population in the U.S. has a university degree, which is above the national average (Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman & Keisling, 2011). Such a finding indicates a high degree of resilience to external stressors. In her research with trans students of colour, Singh (2012) found that sources of resilience and/or support for the students originated in: the LGBTQ+ community on campus, their ability to self-advocate within education systems, and the use of social media to affirm their gender identity. Black trans students from UCT also made use of a Photovoice project and exhibition as a way to resist and disrupt the violence space of their campus (Cornell et al., 2016). In terms of school-going youth, transgender, queer and questioning (TQQ) individuals showed how they are acutely aware of the exact action that needs to be taken in order to make their schools safer environments for TQQ youth (Johnson et al., 2014). The participants in this study had a detailed strategy for change and were aware of the fact that the next step was to engage the school and educators as stakeholders. Such studies highlight the inherent strength and coping mechanisms of transgender youth, and contribute to the development of counter-narratives, however, there is still room for this body of literature to grow.

2.2 Mental health

Another focus area within trans youth research is mental health. Studies have repeatedly highlighted that trans persons of any age have higher rates of mental health concerns than the general population (Clements-Nolle, Marx, Guzman, & Katz, 2001; Hepp, Kraemer, Schnyder, Miller, & Delsignore, 2005; Mustanski, Garofalo, & Emerson, 2010; Nemoto, Bodeker, & Iwamoto, 2011; Nuttbrock et al., 2010). It is important to stress that being transgender does not mean that an individual is inherently more vulnerable to psychological distress. Rather, trans persons face multiple violences on a daily basis and this

has an impact on psychological well-being (Institute of Medicine, 2011). Additionally, Yadegarfar, Ho and Bahramabadian (2013) argue that the mental health issues of trans persons are compounded, because, not only do they experience external stressors such as harassment, discrimination, and human rights violations, but they also experience internal struggles around identity and gender dysphoria. In terms of trans youth, the bullying and harassment experienced in educational settings – as outlined earlier – is psychologically taxing. Furthermore, psychological distress can also be heightened throughout adolescence, as secondary sex characteristics develop during puberty. This may be distressing for young people who feel that these do not match their gender identity (De Vries, Steensma, Doreleijers, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011). Fear around disclosure can thus become foregrounded during this time and may cause intense loneliness and feelings of isolation.

The above factors place young trans people at a much higher risk for developing depression, anxiety and other mental health issues (Müller, 2012; Yadegarfar et al., 2013). For example, in an online survey of Australian trans individuals aged 14 – 25, 40% reported depression, 44% reported anxiety problems, and 38% reported suicidal ideation (Smith et al., 2014). A study of American college students found that, compared to cisgender students, transgender students had a significantly higher risk of depressive symptoms, self-injury, suicidal thoughts, and suicide attempts (Lytle, Blosnich & Kamen, 2016). A population-based study of transgender students in New Zealand found that 41% described significant depressive episodes, 20% had attempted suicide within the last 12 months, and 46% had self-harmed in the past year (Clark et al., 2014). A non-population based study of transgender patients aged 12 – 29 at a community health centre, found that they were three times more likely to have depression, anxiety, or suicidal tendencies, and more than four times more likely to self-harm than cisgender patients (Reisner et al., 2015). Research about trans mental health – especially regarding young people – is lacking in South Africa. However, a study by

Gender DynamiX (Stevens, 2012) about trans persons and health risk behaviours showed high levels of substance abuse. This is comparable to international research that links experiences of transphobia, social exclusion and stigma to greater substance use among trans persons (Müller, 2012). While there is much research about young trans people and overall mental well-being, there is a focus in the literature on suicide and life-threatening behaviours.

2.2.1 Suicide and life-threatening behaviours. Suicide is the third most common cause of death for teenagers (Stieglitz, 2010), and is therefore considered to be a concern for all adolescents. However, work with LGBTIQ+ youth has emphasised an even greater risk for suicide attempts within this group (Russell, 2003). More recent work has focused specifically on trans youth and has expanded to include life-threatening behaviours. Life-threatening behaviours can be understood as, “nonfatal acts where there is evidence that the individual had some intent to die” (Grossman & D’Augelli, 2007, p. 527), and thus is different from self-harm. In particular, there has been investigation into the relationship between suicidality and victimisation based on gender identity (Espelage & Swearer, 2008; Russell et al., 2011). In a sample of 55 trans youth aged between 15 and 21, approximately half of the participants had seriously considered ending their lives, and half of them related this to their transgender identity (Grossman & D’Augelli, 2007). A quarter of the participants reported attempting suicide and, in comparison to non-attempters, suicide attempters had experienced higher levels of physical and verbal abuse, particularly from parents. Similarly, Clements-Nolle, Marx, and Katz (2006) found that 50% of their participants (n = 515) had attempted suicide, and that factors such as gender-based violence and school bullying were independently related to suicidal behaviour. Young trans individuals also commented how these issues were exacerbated by that fact that they could not access mental health services that met their needs (Grossman & D’Augelli, 2006).

Given these circumstances, Grossman & D’Augelli (2007) have recommended the

following interventions: psychoeducational programs for trans youth that help them understand and navigate their gender identity; educational programs for parents/guardians that highlight the negative consequences of emotional and verbal abuse; training programs for mental health professionals to improve their knowledge base and skill sets regarding transgender youth, and training mental health professionals to respond more appropriately to young people displaying symptoms of suicide risk. In this regard, the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA) adopted a position statement on sexual and gender diversity in September 2013 (PsySSA, 2013). This document, aimed at mental health professionals, gives insight into the challenges gender and sexual minority groups face living in a heteronormative and patriarchal society (Victor, Nel, Lynch & Mbatha, 2014). It also states that an affirmative stance towards gender and sexual diversity should form the basis for all psychological work with gender and sexually diverse persons (Victor et al., 2014). Although this position statement marks an important departure from previously pathologising narratives of gender diversity within psychology, much still needs to be done to actualise this stance in the daily work of mental health professionals.

2.3 Healthcare

Within cis-heteronormative and patriarchal contexts, gender identity can be understood as a social determinant of health (Logie, 2012). That is, being transgender is not inherently risky, but systemic transphobia confers risk factors for those who do not identify as cisgender or heterosexual (Pega & Veale, 2015). This creates health disparities between cis and trans individuals (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2014) and is evident in mental health and HIV statistics. Additionally, the medical field has a long history of pathologisation and discrimination with regards to queer persons, and diagnoses around gender identity remain in the APA's DSM-5 and the WHO's ICD-10 (Drescher, 2010; Drescher, Cohen-Kettenis & Winter, 2012).

Healthcare for trans persons has thus received more attention within the field, yet, literature specifically relating to trans youth is relatively scarce. Biomedical research has been conducted with regards to the endocrinological and surgical matters surrounding medical transitioning of trans youth. However, given the scope of this dissertation, and its location within the social sciences, I will not be discussing trans youth healthcare from a biomedical perspective. Given the dearth of research relating specifically to trans youth healthcare, I will be discussing transgender healthcare more generally, and focusing on youth research where possible. Existing literature around trans healthcare focuses heavily on HIV risk and accessing both general and gender-affirming care. As can be seen in other areas, trans persons are often still placed in the same category as LGB individuals in terms of health matters.

2.3.1 HIV. A large body of literature within the transgender field focuses on trans persons' risk for contracting HIV. Studies from Asia, Europe, and North America have identified trans individuals as having a higher HIV prevalence than other groups (Clements-Nolle et al., 2001; Pisani et al., 2004; Setia et al., 2006; Spizzichino et al., 2001; Wiessing, van Roosmalen, Koedijk, Bieleman & Houweling, 1999; Zehender et al., 2004). More recently, UNAIDS (2016) reported that trans persons are 49 times more likely to be HIV positive than the general population. International estimates posit that 19% of transgender women are HIV positive (UNAIDS, 2014). This body of work focuses almost exclusively on transgender women, and as data for transgender men are limited (Sevelius, 2009), little is known about their vulnerability to HIV.

As mentioned earlier, being trans does not make one inherently more at risk for contracting HIV, however, it has been found that trans persons experience a particular set of risk factors that make them susceptible to HIV contraction. Transgender persons must negotiate legal, economic and social exclusion daily. These intersecting factors can make it

difficult for trans persons to access information about sexual health and HIV healthcare services (Winter et al., 2016). When they do access HIV care, they often encounter stigmatisation and discrimination (Stevens, 2012). Social and educational exclusion, a lack of employment opportunities, and the high costs of transitioning, mean that many trans persons experience financial instability (UNAIDS, 2014). Therefore, sex work is often a viable form of income generation and this can increase the risk of HIV contraction (Winter, 2012). Furthermore, these overlapping social factors may make it difficult for trans persons to negotiate condom use (Chakrapani, 2010; World Health Organisation, 2011). Lastly, injecting hormones is often part of medically transitioning, and many trans persons will do the injecting themselves. However, without access to proper medical guidance, there is the risk of needle sharing, and thus HIV vulnerability (Herbst et al., 2007).

Trans persons and HIV in South Africa. In 2011, the South African Department of Health identified transgender persons as one of the most at-risk groups for contracting HIV in their 2012–2016 National Strategic Plan for HIV, STIs and TB (South African Department of Health, 2011). This was acknowledged due to sustained lobbying by trans activist organisations (Müller, 2017). Despite this recognition, it appears that trans persons and HIV in South Africa have remained unexamined in research contexts, even though researchers have queried this continued erasure (Jobson et al., 2012; Nduna, 2012). In a review of the literature about trans persons and HIV in South Africa, Nduna (2012) only found four relevant articles. They contained cursory discussion of transgender issues, did not present data levels of HIV among transgender people, and continued to group transgender persons with men who have sex with men (MSM). More recently, Poteat et al. (2017) has called for greater attention to be paid to gender diversity in HIV research within Sub-Saharan Africa, and Evans, Cloete, Zungu and Simbayi (2016) have highlighted how ‘non-normative’ gender identities and sexualities have been excluded from HIV research in South Africa –

particularly with regards to youth. Because trans persons experience gender in diverse ways, they have generally been overlooked in studies focusing on women who have sex with women (WSW) and MSM (Stevens, 2012). Furthermore, services aimed at cisgender WSW and MSM may not meet the needs of trans persons, and they may feel judged and unheard which prevents them from accessing the care they need (Stevens, 2012; Jobson et al., 2012). Although trans people are often still grouped under the LGBTIQ+ umbrella in HIV studies in Southern Africa, some recent data suggests comparable trends to international research. For example, Poteat et al. (2017) found that, compared to cisgender MSM in Sub-Saharan Africa, transgender women were more likely to have an HIV positive status.

Trans youth and HIV. There appears to be little to no research about transgender youth and HIV in South Africa, however, there are international studies, but again, much of the literature groups trans youth under the broader LGBTIQ+ category. Studies that focus solely on trans youth have mostly investigated risk for contracting HIV, rather than prevalence. A study of 51 male-to-female (MTF) trans youth of colour in Chicago, found that 22% of the participants were HIV positive, and that the majority participated in activities construed as high risk for contracting HIV such as sex work, unprotected intercourse, substance use, and needle sharing (Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006). In a study involving 151 HIV-positive MTF youth from both Los Angeles and Chicago, Brennan et al. (2012) found that indicators of social marginalisation and poor psychosocial coping were positively and additively related to an HIV-positive status and risky sexual behaviour. Another study with a similar participant group found that 19% were HIV-positive, and that 67% had participated in sex work (Wilson et al., 2009). They also found that factors relating to social marginalisation such as lower education status, homelessness, use of drugs, and perceived lack of social support, were significantly correlated with sex work when controlling for other variables. While these studies create a narrative of endemic vulnerability

and risky behaviour, one study emphasised that trans youth are concerned about contracting HIV, and they wish for greater support and access to prevention services (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006). Other studies have also shown how creating gender-affirming healthcare spaces and practices serves to retain HIV-positive trans youth within healthcare systems (Greifinger, Batchelor & Fair, 2013; Reisner, Radix, & Deutsch, 2016).

2.3.2 Accessing healthcare. This section does not speak directly to the experiences of trans youth given the lack of literature, however, issues of access are applicable to trans persons, regardless of age. Most of the healthcare that trans persons need is not directly connected to their gender identity, however, being trans can make accessing any health services complex (Müller, 2012). Compared to socioeconomically equal cisgender peers, trans persons are more likely to experience barriers to appropriate healthcare (Mayer et al., 2008; Pega & Veale, 2015). This is true for both general medical care and care specifically related to transgender health (Müller, 2012). Research with queer healthcare users highlights the low standard of care that they have come to expect, with ignorance and prejudice being commonplace (Heyes, Dean, & Goldberg; Smith, 2015). They therefore have to navigate these interpersonal experiences alongside their health concerns (Harbin, Beagan and Goldberg, 2012). Resultingly, queer patients may choose not to disclose their gender identity or sexual orientation, and thus, may forego a comprehensive assessment (Durso & Meyer, 2013).

Healthcare access in South Africa. Healthcare access in South Africa can be difficult for anyone, as the over-burdened and under-resourced public-sector results in service unavailability, a scarcity of specialised doctors, and long waiting times (Mayosi & Benatar, 2014). However, trans persons must navigate these difficulties together with trans related prejudice and discrimination (Müller, 2017). For example, transgender persons reported regularly experiencing verbal harassment or being blamed for their positive status because of

their gender identity while trying to access HIV services in the public sector (Stevens, 2012). In order to avoid such abusive behaviour, some of the participants resorted to private care, even though it was very expensive (Stevens, 2012). Additionally, most doctors and mental health professionals are poorly informed about transgender health needs, and if they are informed, it is with outdated information and practices (Husakouskaya, 2013). This is largely to do with a lack of sexual and gender diversity training in health professionals' academic curricula, as training priorities are directed towards public health concerns (Bateman, 2011). It also emerges from a context where non-normative gender identities have historically been pathologised through health knowledges and discourses, and thus, care providers must intentionally incorporate trans-affirming practices (Hollenbach, Eckstrand & Dreger, 2014). Indeed, it has been emphasised that transgender patients experience discrimination from all groupings of staff at public health facilities, including clinicians, mental health practitioners, administrative personnel, and maintenance staff (Müller, 2017). This is despite South Africa's constitutional commitment to protection from discrimination based on gender or sexual identity (Republic of South Africa, 1996) and the Health Profession's Council of South Africa's (HPCSA) code of conduct which prohibits prejudiced care based on sexual orientation or gender (HPCSA, 2008). However, there are currently no guidelines on competency, curriculum transformation, or accountability processes (Müller, 2018).

Access to gender affirming care. While access to general medical care can be difficult for trans people, obtaining gender affirming care can be even more complex. Not all trans persons wish to physically alter their appearance, but for those who do, options include taking hormones and surgical procedures (Müller, 2012). Formerly, access to gender-affirming care was dependent on the individual undergoing an intensive evaluation procedure with psychiatrists and psychologists. However, new Standard of Care guidelines published by the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) (2012), outline that

individuals seeking hormone treatment only need a referral letter from one mental health professional. Those wishing to access surgery need referrals from two mental health professionals. While this process is less scrutinising than before, accessing gender affirming care is still not straightforward, and studies show that few trans youth who qualify for treatment actually receive it (Shumer & Spack, 2013).

Lack of treatment receipt is due to a variety of provider and health care system factors. For example, medical training has insufficient coverage of gender-affirming healthcare, and therefore, doctors often have inadequate knowledge of treatment procedures (Kitts, 2010; Shumer & Spack, 2013; Vance, Halpern-Felsher, & Rosenthal, 2015; Vrouenraets, Fredriks, Hannema, Cohen-Kettenis, & de Vries, 2015). Additionally, private medical care is expensive and rarely covered by insurance (Shumer & Spack, 2013), and public-sector care may involve long waiting times. For example, Groote Schuur, one of two public hospitals in South Africa that offer gender affirming surgery, currently has a waiting list of approximately 25 years (Bateman, 2011). In a recent study that interviewed both trans youth and health-care providers, Gridley et al. (2016) identified these same barriers, as well as inconsistent protocol application; incorrect use of pronouns/name; delayed or limited access to medication, and uncoordinated gatekeeping and care.

Timely access to gender affirming care for trans youth is pertinent, as delaying treatment – such as puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones – is linked with higher levels of mental health concerns (de Vries et al., 2011). Conversely, having access to these services when needed is correlated with a decreased risk of future psychiatric issues, as well as improved body image (Cohen-Kettenis, Schagen, Steensma & Delemarre-van de Waal, 2011; Connolly, Zervos, Barone, Johnson, & Joseph, 2016; de Vries et al., 2011). Multi-disciplinary gender clinics have been cited as a solution for problems of access, however, these are currently rare (Shumer & Spack, 2012).

2.4 Rationale: Researching Transgender Youth

The above review has outlined the dominant research areas within existing literature about transgender youth, both internationally and in South Africa. From this, we can identify several patterns. Firstly, the majority of the research emanates from the global west and while transgender research in South Africa is growing, very little is currently known about trans youth in this context. Secondly, many studies do not delineate trans youth from the broader LGBTIQ+ category and this is particularly evident in research from southern Africa. This is problematic, as issues around gender identity that trans youth experience, are not necessarily comparable to issues of sexual orientation. Furthermore, this trend perpetuates the erasure of young trans persons that is evident in wider society. Thirdly, much of the research is concerned with health-related issues and, while this is important, it contributes to narratives that pathologise and medicalise trans persons. This is reductionistic as it locates much of the trans experience within the body, and furthermore, this body is seen as transgressing ‘natural’ states of being. Lastly, the overarching paradigm from which trans youth research is approached is that of ‘risk’, and as is evident through the number of studies around suicide, HIV-risk, and school violence.

It is of critical importance to investigate the difficulties that trans youth face every day, as these are often life threatening. However, it is also important that such challenges do not come to occupy a central narrative around trans youth, as doing so constructs young trans people as helpless victims whose lives are perpetually ‘at risk’. This is problematic as it feeds into dominant discourses which pathologise ‘the other’ (Zway & Boonzaier, 2015) and creates limited narratives about what it means to be a young trans person. There is therefore a need for research which contributes to diverse representations of trans youth outside of the victim and risk narratives. Additionally, more research is needed that centres and privileges young trans people as an independent group and allows them to re-present themselves on

their own terms. Thus, this dissertation aims to further transgender youth research in South Africa, while simultaneously creating a space that privileges trans voices, and allows for the development of alternative narratives.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology that I used to conduct this study. Firstly, the research aims and questions are stated. Next, the overarching research stance of the project is defined. Following this, I briefly delineate the approach I took towards reflexivity in this project, and then reflect on the planned methodology and how this contrasted to the actualised project. I then outline the specific research methodologies used in this study, as well as the sample and recruitment strategies. Thereafter, I discuss the data collection process and how the data was analysed. Lastly, the steps that were taken to ensure the quality of the research are highlighted and the ethical components of the study are considered.

3.1 Research Aims and Questions

This study aimed to expand research about transgender youth within mainstream psychology in South Africa by creating a space where young trans persons could narrate and re-present their lived experiences. Through this process, the project aimed to challenge dominant narratives about transgender youth, and youth gender and sexuality. Lastly, this project aimed to contribute to the empowerment of the participants by positioning them as experts and foregrounding their knowledges and narratives. The central question that this study sought to answer was, ‘What is it like to be a young transgender person in Cape Town today?’, with the following sub-questions:

- What narratives did the participants draw on when discussing their lived experiences?
- How did the participants choose to represent their gender and sexual identities?
- What counter-narratives are evident within their photo-stories?

3.2 Qualitative Research Design

This study was conducted from a qualitative research stance. In general, qualitative research is concerned with describing, understanding and interpreting peoples' experiences of phenomena, and the subjective meanings that these hold (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) .

Qualitative research also attends to the context within which such experiences take place and how this might influence an individual's interpretation of events (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006). It also allows for flexibility and iteration within the methodology, because qualitative projects often work with people in real-life contexts that are complex and ever-changing (Willig, 2001). Lastly, through reflexivity, qualitative research foregrounds the role that the researcher plays throughout the research process, as well as how their identity is implicated in the results and analysis (Creswell, 2013). Such a stance was appropriate for this study because it allowed for an in-depth exploration of the lived experiences of young trans people in Cape Town, while allowing me to highlight how my positionality influenced the project. It also created space for methodological flexibility while working with a population group that was difficult to access.

3.2.1 Reflexivity in this dissertation. As noted above, reflexivity is central to any qualitative work, and was particularly important for this project given that my identity differed on multiple axes to that of my participants. Creswell (2013) outlines how reflexivity can be approached in various ways depending on writing preferences. It can be incorporated into the introduction, the methods section, or it may be interwoven throughout the study write-up. It can also take the form of an epilogue, or a different paper entirely. For this study, I chose to thread my reflexive analysis throughout - although predominately in the method and analysis sections - as this most accurately captures the multifaceted ways in which my identity influenced the project. Accordingly, it must be noted that I chose to conduct this project from a social justice and gender activist standpoint. These positionalities emerge from

my alignment with critical psychologies and experiences with gendered violence and injustice in my own life, those close to me, and young people I have worked with.

3.3 Theoretical Framework: Critical Feminist Research

This research project was approached from a critical feminist perspective. There are various types of feminist theorising, and while most feminist research uses gender as a framework for analysis (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006), different feminist standpoints have different emphases. Broadly speaking, critical feminist research is concerned with power relations and aims to problematise traditional modes of knowledge production (Kiguwa, 2004). Hesse-Biber (2013) outlines four main themes in critical feminist research. Firstly, it seeks to challenge exclusionary knowledge practices by interrogating forms of knowledge production. Psychological research exercises power by legitimating certain ways of knowing and being in the world, and invalidating others (Kiguwa, 2004). Thus, using a critical feminist stance in this dissertation allowed for the challenging of the binary construction of gender which has been reinforced by most psychological research to date. Secondly, marginalised groups are centred in the research process. Thus, critical feminist research does not aim to *speak for* participants, but rather gives equal credibility to non-mainstream knowledge systems that have previously been excluded from research processes, for example, youth knowledges (Kiguwa, 2004). Thirdly, it takes into consideration the structures of power and authority that are inherent in the research process. And lastly, it approaches topics in multiple ways and is thus multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional.

A critical feminist approach is also useful when engaging with the topic of gender identity within a psychological context. Traditional psychological theories relating to gender identity, and identity more broadly, have tended to construct it as stable, fixed, and following a step-wise developmental model (Kiguwa, 2004). This understanding of identity also universalises experiences e.g. *all* young people experience their sexuality in a certain way or

all trans persons transition. However, by drawing on post-structuralist work by theorists Foucault (1984) and Butler (1990), critical feminism rejects ideas about identity as fixed and universal and rather sees identity as constantly in flux and dependent on context (Kiguwa, 2004). Such a framework thus creates space and accounts for the lived experiences of trans youth which directly challenge and destabilise normative assumptions about gender identity.

This stance was thus appropriate for this project because it simultaneously allowed for the critique of dominant forms of knowledge production *and* the understanding of identity as changeable, multiple and contingent on context. This was particularly important for the way in which I approached the data analysis, because it allowed me to engage with the complexities and nuances that were inherent within participants' narratives. This in turn supported the objective of moving away from the dominance of the risk narrative. Furthermore, it allowed for the direct challenging of the exclusion of trans youth in South African psychological research up to this point. It also created a space where transgender youth could be positioned as experts on their life experiences in contradiction to other social science research on young people. In this way, the participants could present themselves on their own terms rather than being portrayed as inherently at risk (Zway & Boonzaier, 2015). Critical feminism's attention to power relations also allowed for my reflection on how these played out in the research process. Finally, the multidimensional approach allowed for methodological flexibility.

3.4 Methodological Reflections: The Intended versus the Realised Project

The final methodologies used for this project will be described below, however, as part of my reflexive analysis, it is first necessary to outline how I planned this project, how it actually took place, and why the changes emerged.

In the planning stages, this study was conceptualised as a participatory action research (PAR) project. PAR can be broadly considered as an alternative research methodology that is

committed to a social justice agenda (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000). It seeks to connect learning and action to the process of knowledge production (de Koning & Martin, 1996) and to include those who are affected by the researched issue in the research process (Wernick, Woodford, & Kulick, 2014). It therefore aims to make the research project a space where marginalised persons can come together to examine the systems of oppression that affect their lives (Alvarez & Gutiérrez, 2001; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Smith, 1997). This can contribute to conscientisation, empowerment and social action, as well as to the democratising of power dynamics inherent in the research system (Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias, & McLoughlin, 2006).

Given the systems of oppression that young trans people experience, I hoped that, by using PAR methodology, this project would simultaneously contribute to further research about trans youth in South Africa while providing a space for building connections, consciousness raising, and social change. Key to this process is the creation of community within the research group and a sense of ownership of the project. This is most often facilitated through focus group discussions, and I therefore intended to use this format for my data collection. I planned to recruit participants who were already part of a group, such as a support group or safe space program. This was intended to build upon existing relationships through the research process. However, members of such groups were reluctant to participate, and therefore it was difficult for me to bring them together. It was also difficult to form a group dynamic given the long recruitment process and small number of participants: it took six months to recruit my final sample of five participants.

I think I experienced such difficulties for two main reasons. Firstly, I feel my intersecting identities of cisgender white woman and psychological researcher created obstacles for engaging with the trans community in Cape Town. Despite my intersectional, trans-inclusive feminist stance, I began this project as an outsider, and while I am a young

adult myself, I had few personal connections at the beginning of recruitment. I also think that given my positionality, potential participants were wary of my intentions, particularly because I was coming from a psychological background and psychology has a long history of stigmatising and pathologising queer and trans individuals (Tosh, 2014, 2016). Even though I had partnered with an LGBTIQ+ NGO, my identity limited who felt comfortable approaching me as the primary researcher. Secondly, Photovoice projects require more time and thought commitment than most other research, and this could have deterred people from participating.

Given these challenges, I had to rethink the group aspect of my project. I therefore decided to conduct semi-structured individual interviews and focus on the narrative features of the research. I chose to incorporate Photovoice aspects for the transformative power of visual components and what this would contribute to participants' spoken narratives. Even though the empowerment and group process aspect was no longer foregrounded, this approach still allowed for young trans persons to re-present their life experiences on their own terms through narratives and photographs. Despite the fact that PAR was no longer the guiding methodology, this project still maintained its overarching social justice agenda, and aimed to centre participants' voices and contribute to their empowerment.

3.5 Narrative Methodology

Narrative research was used as the broad methodological framework within which this project was situated. The following section discusses what is meant by 'narrative' and 'narrative research', and how this methodology can be used as an emancipatory process. The rationale for using this framework for this project is also explained.

3.5.1 Defining 'narrative'. The term 'narrative' traditionally refers to texts that are written or spoken, and that give a chronological account of a happening (Czarniawska, 2004). However, Riessman (2008) posits that 'narrative' can have multiple meanings and can be used in different ways. They can be found in any text, discourse or object of study, for

example, in reports, archival documents, photographs, or artworks. However, in its simplest form, it is ‘storytelling’ that vividly represents the life experiences of the narrator/s (Liamputtong, 2013). The terms ‘narrative’ and ‘story’ are used interchangeably by some writers (Riessman, 2011, 2012), however, I have chosen to use only ‘narrative’ for the sake of consistency.

Given the varied meanings and uses of ‘narrative’, it is defined differently across disciplines. An inclusive definition within the social sciences is: stories found at several levels that overlay each other (Riessman, 2008). These ‘levels’ may include narratives told by participants, fieldwork observations, and interpretive accounts developed by the researcher. Historians and anthropologists tend to describe narrative as, “an entire life story, woven from threads of interviews, observations, and documents,” (Riessman, 2008, p. 5). However, sociological and psychological researchers take it to mean personal narrative constructed through long periods of talk in the context of single or several research interviews (Riessman, 2008). This project’s definition of narrative straddles the broader human sciences definition and that used by psychology. This is because I explored the narratives that participants told through two in-depth individual interviews and combined these with the narratives present in the photographs that they took. Such a definition also highlights the meta-narrative that has been constructed about these narratives through my writing of this dissertation. Regardless of the particular narrative orientation, all narrative research recognises that action, agency and meaning emerge from political, historical and sociocultural contexts (Gill & Goodson, 2011).

3.5.2 Narrative as research. ‘Narrative enquiry research’ is a broad term that encompasses narrative as both the method and the phenomenon of study (Liamputtong, 2013). Narrative methodology explores experiences as they are expressed through the stories that people tell about their lives (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Narrative research tends to work mostly with oral histories, personal documents and accounts, auto/biographies, narrative

interviews, and life stories (Danzig, 1999). The central idea is that narratives are seen as a way of accessing how people experience their lives or certain phenomena.

Certain features have been noted as key in narrative research. Firstly, as already emphasised, narrative researchers are interested in the stories that people tell about their lives, and these are seen as reflecting some aspect of identity (Creswell, 2013). These narratives may be told by the narrator alone, as a co-construction between multiple narrators or between the researcher and narrator/s, or as part of an intended performance (Riessman, 2008). Secondly, data is collected in various forms, as seen in my project, which made use of interviews and photographs. Thirdly, narratives are often transformed into chronological order by the researcher, even if they were not originally told this way (Clandini & Connelly, 2000). However, this is dependent on the type of analysis that one chooses to utilise, which highlights the fourth central feature: variety of analysis. Narrative analysis can focus on *how* the story was told (structural), *who* the intended audience was (performance), or *what* was told (thematic) (Riessman, 2008). For my project, I made use of thematic narrative analysis, but this will be discussed later. Lastly, narrative research highlights the context within which the story was told, and how this influenced the telling (Creswell, 2013).

3.5.3 Narrative research as an emancipatory methodology.

A brief history. Across cultural groups, storytelling has been a way of passing on information for centuries. One of the first instances of narrative as *research* can be tracked to the ancient Zhou dynasty of China, where historiographers collected colloquial sayings for court historians (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). However, Thucydides – the Greek historian – was the first person to be ‘officially’ recorded as an oral researcher for his use of interviews while writing his history of the Peloponnesian War (Ritchie, 2003; Shopes, 2011; Yow, 2005). Since the 5th century BC, personal narratives have been documented, but it was only after the invention of portable recording devices, post WW2, that oral history started to be

systematically recorded (Shopes, 2011; Yow, 2005). The first methodical oral history project was conducted by Allan Nevins of Columbus University in 1948, who sought to document the lives of significant Americans i.e. elite white men (Bornat, 2004; Shopes, 2011; Yow, 2005). It was only after the 1960s that the experiences of the less privileged began to be recorded (Yow, 2005). One of these original projects was Thomas and Znaniecki's (2007) work with Polish emigrants in America. The method gained in popularity during the second-wave feminist movement, where it was seen as a way of understanding and centring women's experiences in a society that privileged masculine views and interpretations (Fontana & Prokos, 2007; Gluck, 1984, 2006; Gluck & Patai, 1991). From such ideas emerged attempts to collect oral histories from other oppressed groups whose stories had been left out of contemporary historical writings (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). Previously, only people from the upper classes documented their lives because, firstly, they were literate, secondly, they had the time and assistance, and lastly, because it was these accounts that were deemed important (Liamputtong, 2013). Due to this, it was only those who held power in society who had their perspectives become a part of historical records (Yow, 2005). Narrative research with marginalised and oppressed groups therefore became an important way of giving more holistic insight into society, and eliciting narratives that had previously been suppressed (Blix, Hamran, & Normann, 2013; Leonardi, 2017; Mabhala, Ellahi, Massey, & Kingston, 2016; Robinson, 2013).

Liberatory praxis. Apart from creating a platform for previously erased voices to be heard, narrative work can also be an empowering process for narrators (Franklin, 1997; Lykes, 1997; Marecek, Fine, & Kidder, 1997; Salzer, 1998). Kiguwa (2006) outlines how recounting personal experiences provides an opportunity for an individual to re-present themselves. Happenings that were – in the moment – confusing, incomprehensible or traumatic can be unpacked, rethought and understood through the telling of a narrative. This

allows for the creation of a sense of order/consistency and for moments to become instilled with meaning and incorporated into identities. Through this process of interpretation and re-presentation, the narrator claims authorship over their life story/stories which can contribute to a sense of agency and empowerment. The re/telling of narratives also allows for the performance of different identities within these stories, and thus highlights the link between narrative, identity and performance. In this respect, Parker (2005) argues that “narrative is the performance of the self as a story of identity,” (p. 71).

Narratives can be emancipatory on a personal and political level (Kiguwa, 2006). By constructing the self through narrative, an individual is able to create a subject position for themselves and locate this in relation to others and their social context (Parker, 2005). This may be a social or political positioning. This enables a concurrent construction of identity, and how this relates to one’s context. This is therefore a political practice. Furthermore, stories have an emancipatory potential, particularly if they become a group narrative and create conscientisation and social action (Kiguwa, 2006). In this way, narrative allows for subjective and critical reflections on events, ideas, practices and our responses to them.

Such an approach was important for this project as it created space for the participants to tell their life stories on their own terms. In this way, they could re-author or speak back to the dominant, pathologising narratives that permeate much of the literature on trans youth. Therefore, this methodology not only enabled a sense of ownership over personal narratives, but it also allowed for the creation/utilisation of counter-narratives.

3.6 Photovoice

While narrative methodology was used as the framework within which this project was conceptualised, Photovoice was the specific methodology that was drawn on to guide the data collection process.

Photovoice is increasingly being used as an innovative way of collaborating with

groups who have been oppressed and marginalised (Liamputtong, 2013). It is a flexible and versatile methodology that can be used within various research frameworks, and with diverse aims (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). Photovoice finds its roots in critical pedagogy, feminist theory, community health principles, and unconventional documentary photography (Wang, 1999). Photovoice rejects the traditional modes of knowledge production by combining photography and storytelling – mediums that have previously only been considered artistic, and thus not fitting for research contexts (Harrison, 2002; McIntyre, 2008). Participants are given cameras and asked to record that which is pertinent in their daily experiences, such as routines, difficulties, joys, concerns, and hopes (Wang & Burris, 1997). Once the photographs have been taken, participants are asked to construct a narrative about their photographs. The photographs and narratives are then combined into photo-stories which can be displayed in an exhibition. This process enables people to choose how they would like issues that are important to them to be portrayed, and in doing so, creates space for critical reflection on issues that affect their lives (Wang & Burris, 1997). The exhibition process also creates an opportunity for individuals/communities to advocate for themselves, and to generate public awareness around topics that are excluded from mainstream media (Wang & Burris, 1997). Photovoice does not endeavour to give voice to marginalised groups, but rather assumes that these voices already exist and that they hold expertise and insight that outsiders do not (Wang, Yuan, & Feng, 1996). This methodology was chosen because it enables people to identify, represent and promote their community (Wang and Burris, 1997), build personal and social identities, and develop social competency (Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). Furthermore, visual data is an impactful medium to work with as Segalo (2016) highlights in her paper on using embroidery as a decolonising methodology. Some traumas cannot be verbalised because they are embodied, and therefore visual mediums may be more appropriate for portraying that which is unspeakable. Visual images are also universally

understood but allow for multiple interpretations by the creator and the viewer. This creates space for meaning making to be a collective effort and uncovers different ways of seeing and understanding the world. Visuals therefore foreground how lived experiences are complex, contradictory, and multidimensional.

Photovoice has also been shown to be an effective tool for working with young people, as it can be used to mobilise and engage youth in issues that are important to them (Kessi, 2011; Wang, 2006; Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004). Some topics that have been addressed include racial identifications (Cornell et al., 2016), youth sexuality (Zway & Boonzaier, 2015), neighbourhood violence (Wang et al. 2004), community development (Kessi, 2013), refugee experiences (Assounga, 2014), and trans persons' access to healthcare (Hussey, 2006).

Photovoice methodology helped fulfil the research aims by creating a space where trans youth could narrate and re-present their lived experiences, thereby challenging dominant narratives about transgender youth, and youth gender and sexuality. By centring their narratives, Photovoice also allowed transgender youth to be positioned as experts on the topic of their lives. This broke down the divide between the researcher and the researched, and therefore created the potential for empowerment.

3.7 Sample and Recruitment

This study was conducted in partnership with Triangle Project – an NGO in Cape Town that offers health and counselling services to LGBTIQ+ people. They are also involved in policy and advocacy work. Triangle Project is one of the few organisations in Cape Town that runs support groups for trans persons. This partnership was facilitated by UCT's Knowledge Co-Op, a unit that connects students with organisations that have identified various research priorities. Triangle Project mainly assisted with the recruitment of participants, and the exhibition of the photo-story posters.

3.7.1 Sample. The participants were recruited through purposive sampling, whereby participants are selected based on them belonging to a pre-defined group (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). I sought to recruit a maximum of 10 persons who identified as trans. In advertisements for the project, I did not give a specific definition of ‘trans’ because I did not want to contribute to exclusionary discourses about what it means to be trans. Thus, any persons who self-identified could participate. Initially, I sought to recruit persons aged 18 to 24, but this was later extended to 26, given the recruitment difficulties experienced. This age group was chosen, as accessing younger transgender individuals is a complex process that requires lengthier time periods for engagement than this project could accommodate. Furthermore, younger trans persons might not have disclosed their identity to their parents/guardians. Participating in the study would have necessitated that their parents/guardians give informed consent for them to do so, and I did not want to put any young person in a situation where they were forced to disclose their identity if they were not ready to - especially if such disclosure could bring them harm.

3.7.2 Recruitment. The recruitment process took an unexpectedly long time – approximately six months. Earlier, I outlined the reasons why I think this was, and so, in this section, I will detail the actual recruitment process. The first recruitment strategy involved sharing an advertisement for the project (see Appendix A) through Triangle Project’s social media platforms. While decent interest was shown in the project, very few people committed to being part of the full study. Only two people were recruited for the project during this stage. The second recruitment strategy involved advertising the project through other gender justice and queer rights organisations in Cape Town. With Triangle Project’s consent, an advertisement for the project (as above) was disseminated through other NGOs’ social media platforms, email networks, and placed in their offices. Again, while some responses to the advertisements were received, few people wanted to participate. The third stage of

recruitment involved trying to partner (again with Triangle Project's consent) with another NGO in Cape Town: SWEAT (Sex Workers' Education and Advocacy Task force). SWEAT does advocacy work and provides support services for sex workers. It also has a transgender sex worker support group that was interested in being a part of the project. However, upon meeting with the group, it became evident that, the time frame they needed to work by did not match the timeline of this project. The last recruitment strategy involved a repeat of disseminating the advertisement via NGOs' social media platforms and making use of my personal connections. Friends of mine contacted trans friends of theirs that fitted the age group and gave them information about the study. Through a combination of these word-of-mouth and snowballing strategies, as well as the social media advertising, another three people were recruited. Given the difficulties that were experienced with recruitment, I decided to lessen the total number of participants from ten to five. The final sample consisted of five trans young adults from the greater Cape Town area, ranging in age from 18 to 26 (see Table 1). During the interviews, I did not ask participants about their socio-economic status or racial identification and therefore, while such information would be useful in contextualising the results, it cannot be included in the below table as I am wary of projecting my own interpretations of these identity markers onto the participants.

Table 1

Participant details

Name	Gender identity	Pronouns	Age
Max	Non-binary trans masculine	They/them/theirs	18
Ben	Gender neutral but presently feeling more male centred	He/him/his	26
Calvin	Transgender male	He/him/his	24

Dana	Trans-womxn ⁱ	She/her/hers	26
Eric	Genderqueer	They/them/theirs	22

**Names are pseudonyms (some participants chose their own, while others were happy for a name to be chosen on their behalf).*

***Gender identity, pronouns and age at time of data collection.*

3.8 Data Collection

Photovoice methodology informed the data collection process. This study followed the steps proposed by Wang (2006), which are flexible guidelines rather than strict rules (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). As described earlier, I decided to use in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews as my final method for collecting data. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for specific topics to be explored, while still creating space for participants to narrate their experiences as they wished. Participants took part in two in-depth individual interviews. All the individual interviews were audio recorded and transcribed (see Appendix B for transcription key) with the participants' permission. The first interview involved a discussion about what it means to be a young trans person in Cape Town today; how participants experience their gender and sexuality, and their lived experiences related to both (see Appendix C). Per the request of one of the participants, my supervisor conducted one of the interviews on my behalf. The participant had stated that they would prefer to be interviewed by a person of colour. The first meeting also included photography training relating to how to compose a good photograph, how to tell a story using photographs, as well as power dynamics, ethics and safety. Cameras were provided by UCT, although some participants chose to use their own cameras. Participants were then given approximately a month to take photographs to tell a story or stories about what we had discussed in the first

ⁱ This spelling is indicative of the various meanings that the word can have for transgender, non-binary, and gender fluid people.

interview. In the second interview, the participants brought their photographs with them and explained their reasoning behind taking them and the story/stories they wanted to tell about being a young trans person in Cape Town (see Appendix D). This interview gave the participants an opportunity to start creating their narratives around the photographs. Through this process, the participants also began to identify themes within their photographs. Only four participants decided to take part in this stage of the project. After the second interview, the participants were asked to choose their 5 favourite photographs and to write an accompanying narrative. These photo-stories were then sent to a graphic designer who created A3 posters. These posters were then displayed at an exhibition held in the UCT Psychology Department (see Appendix E). The exhibition was organised through a collaborative effort between myself and the participants. Although, due to time constraints and transport issues, most of the planning took place via a WhatsApp group, which I feel hindered a true feeling of collaboration. The participants chose the date, time and venue for the exhibition, and came up with a name and advertisement for the event. They also decided who they would like to invite. I facilitated most of the logistical aspects of the exhibition, such as organising catering, booking the venue, and collecting the posters from the printers. The participants chose their level of engagement with the attendees on the night, and all of them decided to attend but not to speak about their photo-story. Unfortunately, at the last minute, one participant could not attend due to transport problems. The posters were also later exhibited at the Triangle Project offices for about two months.

3.9 Data Analysis

Thematic narrative analysis was used to analyse the textual and photographic data from this study. Thematic narrative analysis has its roots in narrative theory. Narrative theory states that people shape their personal and social identities through the stories they tell themselves and others about their lives and experiences (Murray, 2003). In this way, people

bring meaning and order to their lives and actively construct their world.

Within thematic narrative analysis, the focus is primarily on *what* is said rather than *how* the story is constructed (Riessman, 2008). This approach views language as a medium through which a narrative can be told, rather than a topic of enquiry itself. Thematic narrative analysis does acknowledge that narratives are co-constructed, but, this is not the central focus of the analysis. However, given the critical feminist framework of this dissertation, I did pay some attention to the ways in which the participants' and my identities influenced the interviews.

Thematic narrative analysis is a versatile and flexible method that can be applied to a variety of research topics, methodologies and theoretical frameworks (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). However, Riessman (2008) offers some guiding principles. Firstly, data interpretation can be guided by various things: emergent and/or prior theory; the central aim of the investigation; themes developed by the researcher; the data themselves; and political orientations. For this dissertation, the data analysis was guided by the main research aim and by the data themselves. Secondly, thematic narrative analysis aims to keep stories intact, rather than dividing them into coded segments, as in grounded theory. Thus, extensive quotation is used. However, even though narratives are preserved, the central focus is on producing themes across individual stories even as these are preserved and grouped together, and the work is still positioned within narrative research (Riessman, 2008). Thirdly, whereas grounded theory aims to theorise across different narratives, thematic narrative analysis is case centred. This type of analysis is most suited to the photographs and photo-stories of the participants, because it allowed for the identification of common themes in the lived experiences of transgender youth, as well as for seeing how the participants chose to represent their gender and sexuality. Such a method of analysis has also been shown to be useful for highlighting narratives of resistance (Ewick & Silbey, 2003) and therefore allowed

for the discovery of narratives that challenged dominant and stigmatising discourses of transgender youth. Furthermore, narratives allow us to see every day, mundane events in different ways and this can be a catalyst for change (Riessman, 2008).

Data analysis was approached as an iterative process and loosely followed the steps for thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). I began with familiarising myself with the data. This involved a close reading of the transcripts, photo-narratives and photographs. During this process I highlighted words, phrases, paragraphs and images that I felt were significant and/or related to the research questions. I also wrote accompanying notes. Digital copies of the textual data and photographs were then uploaded onto the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 11 Pro. I used this software to help with coding and organising the data. The data was then coded according to initial codes that developed out of the close readings (see Appendix F). Further codes were generated as the analysis progressed. Once this initial coding was complete, I examined the thematic-narrative groupings that had emerged to see if there were any similarities and incongruencies. Similar concepts were amalgamated under overarching ideas and delineated according to sub-themes. The codings on NVivo were adjusted accordingly. To refine the themes, I mapped the thematic groupings and their interconnections through mind-maps (see Appendix G). I did this several times until I felt that the themes accurately captured what was present in the data. With each iteration of the mind-map, the codes and corresponding quotes and photographs were updated on NVivo. Once I was content with the thematic mapping, I transferred the most relevant quotes from NVivo to Word documents. Each theme had its own document, and I used these documents to help me select the most appropriate quotes for the results chapter. I then began the process of writing up the results. During this time, I attended a conference where I presented my results as a work-in-progress. The process of preparing for the presentation and the input from the conference helped me refine my results further. Given the nature of qualitative data,

analysis continued as I wrote up the results, and further insights and connections became clear. The last stage of analysis was therefore a combination of analysis, refining, and writing.

3.10 Ensuring Research Quality

Three criteria should be used to confirm the quality of qualitative studies: credibility, transferability, and dependability (Creswell, 2013).

3.10.1 Credibility. Credibility refers to whether the findings accurately represent the experiences and/or opinions of the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Various strategies can be used to ensure the credibility of findings and those discussed here were most appropriate for this project. Firstly, this study made use of well-established research methods and these were suitable for the topic being explored. Secondly, certain approaches were used to facilitate participants to speak freely. For example, as shown below, all participants were informed that their participation was entirely voluntary and that declining to participate would not affect their access to Triangle Project's services. They were informed that all findings would be anonymised through the use of pseudonyms. Fourthly, scrutiny of the project by my supervisor and proof reader was welcomed. These different perspectives created an opportunity for any of my assumptions, errors, or biased judgements to be challenged. Indeed, the marking of this dissertation by external examiners also forms part of this process. Lastly, detailed quotes from the participants were used throughout the results chapter. This promotes credibility as it helps to portray the lived experiences that have been explored and assists readers with determining the extent to which findings align with reality.

3.10.2 Dependability. Dependability looks at whether the methods used for the study were suitable, and at the transparency of methods and analysis (Creswell, 2013). The processes and methods used within this study have been reported in detail. This allows readers to assess the extent to which proper research practices have been followed and

enables them to develop a thorough understanding of the methods and their effectiveness.

Methodological reflexivity also forms a part of this.

3.10.3 Transferability. Qualitative research does not aim to generalise to other contexts, so transferability refers to the likelihood that the results will be of meaning to others in similar situations (Creswell, 2013). To promote transferability in this study the following steps were followed. Firstly, the inclusion criteria allowed for the recruitment of participants whose experiences reflected the main issues being explored. Secondly, the data collection process has been described in as much detail as possible. Thirdly, the participants' own words have been used to support the research findings. And lastly, literature around similar studies has been included in the discussion to see whether similar themes emerged.

3.11 Research Ethics

This project formed part of an ongoing larger project about youth gender and sexuality, which had already obtained ethical approval prior to the beginning of my project. Participant consent was obtained during the first interview; however, consent was approached as something that could be negotiated and renegotiated throughout the research process.

3.11.1 Informed consent. Triangle Project gave their consent as collaborators. Consent to participate and to be audio recorded was obtained from individual participants at the start of the project. This was done using the consent forms in Appendix H and Appendix I.

Participants were informed that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any given time without any negative consequences. Those affiliated with Triangle Project were informed that their decision to participate – or not participate – in the study would not influence their inclusion in Triangle Project or the services they receive from the organisation.

The consent forms outlined that the participants give permission for the researchers to

use their photographs and narratives (but not their names or other identifiers) in academic presentations and publications. However, their use for any other purpose must first be approved by the participants.

3.11.2 Privacy and confidentiality. In writing and publishing the research, the participants will remain anonymous through the use of pseudonyms and by removing any other personal identifiers. The participants were given a choice about their level of participation in the exhibition so that they could choose whether to disclose their identity. None of the participants' names were associated with their exhibition posters, although one participant requested that their Twitter handle be added. Triangle Project could choose whether they wanted their name to be used in any of the project outputs or exhibitions.

All data collected was kept confidential. All digital research data was stored on a password protected computer. All recording devices, hard copies of transcripts, handwritten notes and field notes were kept in the locked office of the primary researcher. Only the researchers involved in the study had access to the data.

3.11.3 Risks and benefits. This research had several benefits associated with it. Firstly, participants had an opportunity to share their experiences and opinions, as well as to voice what is important to them and their community. This had the potential to be empowering and affirming. Secondly, the findings may be used to inform policy and formulate programmes for transgender youth in Cape Town. Lastly, participants received basic photography training.

This study posed minimal risk to the participants. It was possible that talking about issues such as gender, sexuality, and personal experiences could have posed some psychological risk, but this was judged to be minimal. Some discussions could have become distressing for participants, but no participants became visibly distressed during the interviews. If a participant had become visibly distressed during any of the meetings, I would

have assessed whether a counselling referral was required. At the start of the research process, the participants were also given a referral pamphlet (see Appendix J) for counselling and support services, should they have wished to access these themselves. I was also available after each session for debriefing and questions.

Taking pictures of places or objects also presented a low risk to participants; however, taking pictures of other people could have been riskier. During the photography training session, the researcher discussed with participants how to make safe choices about whom and what to photograph. This included the likelihood of having to acquire verbal consent from people they wanted to photograph, a suitable way to do this, and how to judge which situations could be riskier than others.

3.11.4 Ethical issues relating to secondary participants. The potential subjects of the photographs also needed to have their rights protected. Participants were told that they needed to obtain verbal consent from individuals before they took their picture, and in the case of children, verbal consent was to be obtained from a parent/guardian. Obtaining consent from secondary participants also involved explaining that the photographs may be used in research reports and other publications. However, if secondary participants had been included in any photos, their faces would have been blurred to protect their identity.

3.11.5 Ownership of photographic material. The photographs and photo-stories created during this project belong to the participants, however, UCT and Triangle Project may use them for research and advocacy work. Specifically, Triangle Project is allowed to use such materials in other exhibits as part of fundraising initiatives, although participants' consent will have to be obtained first. Participants kept copies of their photographs and received PDFs of their exhibition posters. Triangle Project will also receive a copy of this dissertation.

3.11.6 Financial considerations. Participants were not financially reimbursed for

their time spent on the project, however, they were provided with transport stipends as well as a light refreshment and snack by UCT. UCT also covered the costs of the exhibition and printing.

In summary, this chapter has outlined the methods used in this research project. The project was conducted from a qualitative research stance and used critical feminist research as the guiding theoretical framework. Narrative methodology and Photovoice elements were utilised in combination to allow participants to create photo-narratives about their lives as transgender youth in Cape Town. Purposive sampling was used to recruit five trans-identifying participants aged 18-26 years old. Data collection involved two in-depth individual interviews with each participant, taking photographs, and the creation of photo-narratives for exhibition. There data were analysed using thematic narrative analysis. Throughout the research process attention was paid to issues of quality and relevant ethical considerations.

CHAPTER FOUR: NARRATIVES OF NEGOTIATING BINARIES

The individual interviews, photographs and photo-stories were analysed through a thematic narrative lens. Two overarching thematic narrative groups emerged from the data: 'Navigating identities' and 'Living within/out the cistem'. How these narratives presented in the data, through text and photographs, will be discussed in this chapter, as well as the various sub-themes within these broader categories. Throughout this discussion I will also attend to the counter-narratives that the participants drew on, as well as some reflexive issues. The titling of the chapter - 'Narratives of Negotiating Binaries' - draws attention to the multiple binaries that young trans persons must negotiate in their everyday lives, whether these be binaries of gender, sexuality, emotions, or experiences. The chapter starts by discussing the theme of 'Navigating Identities', which explores how trans youth narrate the navigation of their identities within rigid binary constructs of gender and sexuality. The theme of 'Living within/out the Cistem' is discussed thereafter and shows how trans youth narrate their experiences of navigating external systems.

4.1 Navigating Identities

This project aimed to challenge dominant narratives around youth gender and sexuality and to centre young people's knowledges within the dialog. I sought to fulfil this by asking the participants how they understood gender and sexuality and by looking at how they represented this through their photo-stories. However, what emerged was a much broader conversation around identities that focused on aspects of gender, sexuality, sex, the body, and expression. In the following section, I explore how the participants spoke about these concepts through the sub-themes of 'Gendering biology', 'Expecting the gender binary', and 'Defying assumed (cis)heterosexuality'. Throughout, the participants countered rigid social constructions by narrating their identities as fluid.

4.1.1 Rigidity/fluidity. Young trans people must navigate their identities within rigid

understandings of gender and sexuality. However, given their personal experiences with gender and sexuality as diverse, they spoke back to these dominant narratives by drawing on narratives of fluidity. The following quote from Dana encapsulates the theme of identity fluidity that the other participants also drew on. Although the quote is lengthy, I felt it was necessary to include the quote in its entirety to showcase the complex, intersecting, and dynamic nature of identity.

What I mean by that, is that on my personal journey, I thought, oh okay maybe I'm just gay, so you know I've dated a man or two and I found out that that actually wasn't true, or I said, you know what, I'm still kind of interested in men when I first started transitioning as a trans womxn and then I sort of realised that the only reason that I was doing that, was because I needed to reaffirm the fact that I was a womxn and you know, being a trans womxn and identifying as a trans womxn and feeling in a better space of being a trans womxn, allowed me to express my lesbian identity so they did come together in my journey and with that in my journey. I was a lipstick lesbian because now I was wearing the pretty dresses, make up and everything like that and that went with me for a long time. It was a good reaffirming identity...as I moved forward and then you know mostly dominantly after surgery, I realised I actually quite like shirts and t-shirts and I don't have to wear pretty dresses and things like that all the time. Sometimes it's nice, but generally I actually like wearing like button shirts and jeans. Once again, it's not necessarily a thing, but it definitely affects my identity because now I realise the aesthetic I have, is butch lesbian trans womxn, so that's my experience of there is definitely a fluidity where they collide with one another, but it's not necessarily connected, so just because you hold the label of lesbian and trans womxn, does not necessarily mean that at some point, they sort of created their identity together and they are just two individual things. Once again, it's nuance, one can affect the other, one does not necessarily have to affect the other...Then you've got a whole bunch of other spectrums like for example in the sexuality spectrum, there is also asexuality which in itself has its own other spectrum and aromanticism, so just because I have the lesbian identity, doesn't necessarily mean that I'm not asexual. In fact, the two might play off each other.... (Dana).

In this narrative, Dana maps how certain aspects of herⁱⁱ identity – gender identity, sexuality and gender expression - have evolved over time. She sees them as existing on separate spectrums yet also influencing each other in various ways. Accordingly, feeling affirmed in one aspect of her identity opened up the possibility of exploring other parts of herself. For example, once she felt comfortable in her trans-womxn identity, she no longer felt the need to validate her femininity through dating men and thus was able to express her lesbian identity. Dana's extract emphasises the fluidity of gender, sexuality, and gender expression and how it is possible to hold various identities simultaneously, and for them to change over time.

Recent understandings of gender and sexuality have conceptualised them as two separate spectrums – which in many ways they are – yet, what Dana highlights is the manifold ways in which they are also connected to each other. This therefore constructs identity as a collection of multiple, shifting positions, or as Fausto-Sterling (2000) states, “sex and gender are best conceptualized as points in a multi-dimensional space” (p. 22).

Dana's identity explanation, and the other quotes in this section about identity fluidity, can be understood within the framework of queer theory. Queer theory sees identity as unstable, fluid and dependent on time, space, and context (Morland & Willox, 2005). The term 'queer' expands beyond the signifiers of 'lesbian', 'gay' or 'bisexual', and represents anyone who feels marginalised by conventional understandings of sexuality, gender, and desire (Morris, 2000). The idea of identity fluidity will be used throughout this section to understand the ways in which participants resisted dominant rigid conceptions of gender and sexuality.

4.1.2 Gendering biology. Biological essentialism is a narrative commonly used to undermine transgender identities. Within this theory, gender is seen as located within a person's biology (i.e. their chromosomes, hormones, genital anatomy) and is thus fixed,

ⁱⁱ All the pronouns used in this document are the chosen pronouns of the participants.

innate and naturally occurring (Hausmann, 2001). For example, within this conceptualisation, a person's 'femaleness' originates from their vagina, uterus, oestrogen and XX chromosomes (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). This narrative is often used to construct trans identities as 'unnatural' and 'transgressive' because they disrupt the traditional association of gender with biology. Such ways of thinking have been used to legitimise discrimination against trans persons, most notably around issues of bathroom access. The participants rejected this essentialist narrative and instead drew on counter narratives of fluidity.

You know somebody with a boy part in their pants and somebody also with a boy part in their pants are not at all the same you know it is just biology and the biology is just there for reproduction and even then you don't have to use it you know you can use it however you want... (Calvin).

...but the fingerprint isn't who you are...that's just a tiny little part of me, that's the tip of my finger, you know. And it feels like that's often all that everybody sees, like what most people see is just the tip of the iceberg. The little finger tip of who everybody is and they only see the fingerprints, they only see DNA, they only see genetics or the biology or anything like that... (Calvin).

Photograph 1, Calvin: *Identity*



Although Calvin refers to “a boy part”, his intention in the first quote, is to disrupt biologically essentialist narratives. This can be seen when he purposefully removes the gendered connotations of genitalia and frames them as “just biology”. Similarly, in the second quote, Calvin removes the associations of identity from fingerprints: “just the tip of the iceberg.” The accompanying photograph (Photograph 1) underscores this further, as the close-up of the fingerprint appears abstract and meaningless without the context of the person it belongs to. In this way, Calvin highlights our fixation with conceptualising parts of the body as signifiers of inherent identity – as is also done with genitalia. This is in line with the constructionist view of gender identity that sees gender as socially constructed and thus as something that can be performed and changed (Butler, 1990). In the text below, Dana also challenges dominant ideas about gender and biology by undoing ideas about chromosomes.

...if you look at it biologically, which is a lot of people's irritating arguments, if you look at it biologically, fascinatingly enough, there are about twelve different sexes and only two of them are gendered, so really my favourite argument when anybody says 'but your chromosomes...', I'm like, 'Sorry do you know your chromosomes?', because most people haven't had a test for their chromosomes, but it's like, 'No, no but I'm definitely a double X or an XY', I'm like, 'No, sorry sweetie, it's not how it works' (Dana).

Here, Dana talks back to essentialist arguments around gender by emphasising that there is greater physiological fluidity and diversity than previously thought. In doing so, she destabilises the certainty of essentialist narratives. Indeed, research within the last 25 years has expanded scientific understandings about physiological and biological sex characteristics and highlighted the potential for multiple hormonal, chromosomal, and genetic variations (Connell, 1999; Cream, 1995; Fausto-Sterling, 1993; Garber, 1992; Hood-Williams, 1996; Lorber, 1994). Fausto-Sterling's work (2000, 2012) has also problematised the assumed dichotomous nature of physiological sexual development in humans by focusing on intersex

persons. Intersex persons are born with ambiguous genitalia and/or other biological ‘markers’ of gender. They are often gendered from infancy – mostly without their consent - through medical procedures and parenting. By emphasising how these young people become male or female through external intervention, Fausto-Sterling (2012) challenges biological essentialist narratives of gender and highlights how the body itself is socially constructed. At the end of her quote, Dana uses the diminutive term “sweety”, and thus creates a condescending tone towards her imagined audience; thereby enacting authority over them. Authority which she has rightfully gained given her first-hand experience with gender fluidity. Below, Eric gives a slightly different interpretation of the connection between sex anatomy and gender.

I think, so, the thing that we always say is gender and sex are different, two different things. Gender and, yes gender and sex, sex as in sex anatomy are two different things and so that always explains, especially cis people are like ‘ah okay’ and for them, but I also think that they’re super, super connected. But before you can understand that they are super, super connected you need to break them apart and then put them back together and then start seeing the way they are connected...then you can start doing more interesting work and you can start understanding and because I think a lot of work hasn’t happened beyond there... (Eric)

In this quote, Eric references the fluid narrative that Dana used above: that (biological) sex and gender are not related. However, Eric also problematises this idea by stating that there are ways in which sex and gender are connected, but in order to reach this more nuanced understanding, one first has to comprehend how they are different. Other researchers have also referenced this connection, for example, Springer, Stellman & Jordon-Young (2012) refer to the ‘entanglement’ (p. 1817) of sex and gender, and others have examined the ways in which sex and gender mutually shape identities and bodies (Fausto-Sterling, 2012; Nowatzki & Grant, 2011). Indeed, these ideas echo Dana’s quote at the beginning of this section, which underscored how different aspect of identity interact. It can thus be seen that, even within the narrative of identity fluidity, there are multiple understandings.

4.1.3 Expecting the gender binary. Another rigid idea that participants had to navigate, was the expectation from others that, firstly, they would transition, and secondly, that this would take place along the gender binary. In the extract below, Eric talks about how people reacted when they started expressing themselves in more feminine ways.

So I got braids ja and it was very interesting, the reactions, I think one of my first interactions was in the [campus] bathroom where this guy was like ‘Oh wow wow, okay you are a guy oh, oh.’ Because [I] came in super long braids, so he was very confused, I was like ‘okay’ and then there was like, ja conversations, ‘Oh are you becoming a woman?’ And then I am like, ‘Wow. Also, who allowed you to ask any questions? I don’t know you, we are not even friends.’ So that was interesting. Another time we were wearing dresses just because I was like why not and ja so again people, some people seem to freak out about it (Eric).

Eric’s quote showcases several aspects of the assumed gender binary. Firstly, the scrutiny and investigation that non-binary persons experience within binaried spaces such as bathrooms. This can be seen in the other bathroom user’s reaction to Eric. The shock that the other person expresses about Eric’s gender expression – “Oh wow wow” – positions Eric as a point of interest within the bathroom space. However, after what can be assumed to be some form of visual investigation, the other person decides that Eric is ‘allowed’ to be in that space, “...okay you are a guy oh, oh.” This hyper-visualisation of trans bodies will be discussed further in the next section of this chapter. However, it is important to highlight how the different thematic narratives interact with each other – particularly with regards to navigating the gender binary. Secondly, that when bodies are read as disrupting gender norms, people feel entitled to ask invasive questions, “Oh are you becoming a woman now?”. This highlights the third point: that there is the assumption/expectation that trans persons are going to transition from one gender to another. This is referred to as the transnormative narrative of transition or ‘transnormativity’ (Vipond, 2015). Such narratives have been circulated through the medicalisation and legalisation of trans bodies which centre the process of transitioning

(Johnson, 2016). This creates a ‘hierarchy of legitimacy’ within transgender experiences, which still privileges binary gender presentations (Johnson, 2016, p. 465). This can make trans persons feel obligated to express themselves in certain ways, as Calvin describes below.

I mean the other things is just like, I am very, like non-binary at the same time...So or not, non-conforming I should say...So, for the longest time I tried to put on more of a masculinity or act more masculine so that people would believe me or whatever, and I kind of just let that go like I just act how I want to act and I wear what I want to wear and like I don't wear girls' clothes because it still, it doesn't feel right to me but I act how I want to. If I want to go and see a rom-com I will go and see a rom-com you know, I have no issues. And ja, so it is difficult though being like that because a lot of people stigmatise behaviour... (Calvin).

Although Calvin prefers to express his gender in a more non-conforming way, he has felt pressure to display more masculine traits in order to have his trans identity legitimised. This dominant narrative of transnormativity thus expects trans people to transition, and to experience and/or express their gender according to the gender binary. This marginalises non-binary and gender non-conforming persons, ignores gender fluidity, and erases those who do not want to transition (Johnson, 2016; Vipond, 2015). It is therefore important to highlight how the participants pushed back against these expectations. For example, Calvin has decided to “act how [he wants] to” even if more feminine gender expression will cause people to “stigmatise” his behaviour. Eric also speaks back to people’s invasive questioning by confronting the inquirer, “who allowed you to ask any questions?” Eric embodies this disruption of expectations in the photographs (Photographs 2 and 3) below.

Photographs 2 and 3, Eric: *No title*

By painting the pronouns signifying the gender binary onto their body, Eric shows how society projects these binary gender expectations onto trans persons' bodies/identities. However, Eric rejects these assumptions and asserts their right to express themselvesⁱⁱⁱ as they wish by physically gesturing against these. Furthermore, by combining visual cues traditionally associated with femininity – long hair, make up and nail polish – with a cue traditionally associated with masculinity – a flat, bared chest – Eric denies the viewer the ability to label them as male or female. In this way, Eric reclaims power over the way that they are perceived by others. By disrupting expectations in this way, the participants again emphasise the fluid nature of gender identity and expression.

4.1.4 Defying assumed (cis)heterosexuality. As with their gender identity, participants must navigate the expectations that others have about their sexuality. Participants in this project chose to negotiate these by expressing themselves in a way that felt authentic,

ⁱⁱⁱ This is used in the singular in order to align with Eric's they/them pronouns which are used in the singular form.

and therefore defied assumed heterosexuality. The following discussion explores the different ways that they narrated this.

You know I am asexual for example so I don't prefer anybody so, so it is kind of a bit easier for me I guess because I don't have to be in those situations except that I have dated people of both genders or genders in between and then you sort of get some kind of judgment from people like they try to work out what the dynamics are whatever, and it is not actually anybody's business but how I experience it is that, it is easier because I just focus on expressing myself as I am...they think this is now going to be a gay relationship or a straight relationship or a whatever you know, the lines get very blurred with some people they just don't understand and they cannot make the differentiation between sex and gender.... (Calvin).

As discussed in the review, compulsory heterosexuality associates maturing into adulthood with forming (cis)heterosexual relationships (Rich, 1983). Thus, Calvin has experienced judgement and confusion from people who have tried to figure out the “dynamics” of his relationships. Even if others are accepting of queer relationships they still feel the need to categorise Calvin’s relationship along a binary: “they think this is now going to be a gay relationship or a straight relationship”. Similarly, Max feels that outsiders perceive their relationship with their partner as “straight”, yet Max problematises this perception through the quote and photographs (Photographs 4 and 5) below.

Photographs 4 and 5, Max: *No title*

... [the photographs are] kind of describing my queerness and how it's perceived in a straight relationship, even though I don't feel straight, like there's no straight if I'm non-binary, because I'm with a guy and he is straight but we're in a queer relationship. For me, I like this because even though I'm smaller and perceived like as a woman whatever, I still kind of feel like in a way like some of the energy, I don't know how to explain it, this kind of, it's like mirroring kind of...I kind of wanted to show it's not two opposing, it's not two separate genders (Max).

The hands in the above photograph are not gendered, and by showing them in intimate positions, Max troubles the viewer's need to define the relationship according to binary categories. For, as Max describes, "there's no straight if I'm non-binary...we're in a queer relationship." Moreover, by foregrounding the emotional and spiritual connection – "mirroring" - that Max experiences with their partner, they again remove the need for relationships to be based on opposite sex attraction. What Max also highlights here is the lack of language available to adequately describe partnerships that are not based on the gender binary. As Eric explains below, this is something that has led them to focus on their gender identity, rather than labelling their sexuality.

Once I started thinking about gender identity, sexual identity became way, way, way, way more like broken apart like it just started to come apart at the seams...because it was so built up on binary, built up a lot of the way it is understood, and also so personally for me as identifying as liking men went out the window, because like okay what does that mean, don't even know what that means and [I] had relationships with cis men and had relationships with trans men, I have had relationships with trans women, so am like, and that's all from questioning my own gender... (Eric).

Eric describes how, once they started thinking critically about gender identity, sexual identity became less important. This is because, in a context where gender is seen as fluid, yet, most sexual orientation labels are based on the gender binary, “it just [starts] to come apart at the seams”. The narratives of fluidity that the participants are drawing on here are congruent with research that shows that, within the last decade, people are redefining or rejecting traditional labels for sexual orientation, reclaiming words such as ‘queer’, and forming new identity labels (Horner, 2007; Savin-Williams, 2005). Indeed, in a sample of 292 trans persons, Kuper et al. (2012) found that genderqueer was the most common term used in relation to gender identity, and pansexual and queer were the most commonly used terms in relation to sexual orientation.

4.2 Living within/out the Cistem

This grouping of narratives relates to participants’ experiences of navigating external cistems as young trans people in Cape Town. The use of the word ‘cistem’ in this dissertation is purposeful as it plays on the conflation of the words ‘system’ and ‘cis-gender’ and thus highlights, “the systematised power which oppresses, subjugates, and marginalises transgender people” (Patel, 2017, p. 1). This neologism succinctly captures the ways in which everyday systems and institutions uphold cisgender/heterosexual identities as the norm and therefore assign legitimacy to certain groups but not others (Cornell et al., 2016; Watson & Widin, 2015).

The following section unpacks participants' narration of their experiences with different cistems in Cape Town. I show how young trans persons are obligated to negotiate various cistems in the city as part of daily routines (living within), yet, are constituted as 'other' by these cistems (living without). The first section explores how such cistems produce narratives of exclusion and belonging within the city. I then look at participants' narratives of invisibility and hypervisibility, and lastly, I discuss how these disrupt the master narrative of Cape Town as the 'gay capital of Africa'.

4.2.1 Exclusion/Belonging. All the participants spoke in some way about how physical cistems within Cape Town are exclusionary to them as young trans people. The three main cistems that were discussed were educational cistems, healthcare cistems, and workplace cistems. However, despite these experiences of inaccessibility, the participants also narrated instances and places of belonging within the city. How the narratives of exclusion and belonging presented in the data is discussed below, as well as the tension between these experiences.

Educational cistems. As outlined in the review, educational spaces are rarely affirming for trans youth, and are often sites of transphobic violence. Participants in this project particularly spoke about how the gender binary system of their junior schools, high schools, and universities influenced their educational experiences. Calvin, for example, reflects on how his school environment did not acknowledge or support his experience of gender:

I developed a kidney condition because I refused to go to the bathroom at school, and it really just messed, it really just messed with me and my anatomy and just like it did terrible things and I still have that kidney condition...Because I would never go to the bathroom at school because there were no wheelchair bathrooms, no gender neutral bathrooms, nothing that I could go to and I would always just wait until I got home and the day is very long...It's like one of the, the worst things that I experienced with

regards to transgenderism in high school ...You know, so there is that as well and I didn't really feel comfortable coming out in high school and I wish that I had been able to, to feel safe to do that because it would have solved so many things for me and just helped a lot emotionally and psychologically...I was held back by rules and an environment that wasn't really incorporating or encompassing anything that I, or validating anything that I was feeling (Calvin).

In this extract, Calvin outlines how gendered school bathrooms caused him both physical and psychological difficulties. There has been debate in recent years about transgender bathroom rights – particularly with regards to trans youth. Yet, most of the stakeholders in these conversations are cisgender adults (Porta et al., 2017). Similar to Calvin's experiences, research that has centred young trans people's voices has emphasised the multiple forms of violence that young trans people are exposed to when forced to navigate these gender binaried spaces (Patel, 2017; Porta et al., 2017). Calvin also shows how bathroom experiences were just one aspect of a broader cistem that silenced his identity within the school space: "I was held back by rules and an environment that wasn't really incorporating or encompassing anything...that I was feeling." Certainly, other researchers have underscored how everyday routines - such as using a public bathroom - serve as practices through which dominant political and ideological tropes are upheld i.e. the gender binary (Cavangh, 2010). Max also spoke in detail about the challenges they faced as a non-binary person in a high school that strictly adhered to the gender binary. In the following extract, Max uses a story about organising the matric dance to demonstrate this.

I was added to this Facebook group that was called Matric Dance Girls or whatever, about dresses...Then what happened was, you know I complained in the group, I said, 'You guys should be more thoughtful because there are people who don't identify as binary in school and you can't assume peoples' genders so, I really don't think, it's kind of like really, it's pretty offensive to me, to be misgendered after I've come out to so many people as well, it's not even out of ignorance, it's like blatant, it's blatant to me' ...Then everyone started like saying I'm over-reacting whatever and then I got

really angry so I was like opposing it...after that they went and showed the teachers and then I had to go to this whole like disciplinary hearing just so that I could explain myself and still, still nothing happened to them but only to me. I was the one who got in trouble (Max).

In many schools, matric dances are socially important events and signify a graduation from high school into young adulthood. However, such events are also laden with cis-heteronormative assumptions, as is apparent in Max's quote. Rich (1983) highlights how most young people grow up within the construct of compulsory heterosexuality, and thus maturation into adulthood is equated with becoming a heterosexual woman *or* man. Thus, those who do not fulfil these criteria, are seen as 'failing' gender norms (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). It is evident in the above narrative how Max was marginalised because their identity did not align with the assumed cis-heteronormativity upon which matric dances are founded. Max had already come out to their classmates as non-binary, and yet they were still added to a Facebook group for 'girls'. This indicates an intentional and "blatant" disregard for Max's gender identity and it actively excluded them from the dance preparation. However, Max then advocated for themselves by highlighting the ways in which these actions were problematic. Such action is contradictory to narratives which construct young people as 'passive' or marginalised youth as 'victims'. However, the school cistem then silenced Max's activism by disciplining them for speaking out, and not addressing the other students' discrimination.

Calvin and Max's narratives show how core aspects of schools, such as bathrooms and significant events, are organised along the gender binary. The outcome of this is that trans youth must learn and be socialised in an environment that does not affirm and oftentimes actively dismisses their gender identity (D'Augelli et al., 2006). As seen in these extracts and previous research, school then becomes an emotionally and physically taxing space that is not conducive to academic progress (Greytak et al., 2009; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Kosciw et al., 2008).

In contrast to the above experiences, schools can become safe and nurturing spaces for trans youth, if the correct policies are in place. Below, Dana comments on how her junior school has made efforts to support one of its trans learners by inviting a social worker to guide the school.

So ja he [the social worker] recently spoke to a school that I went to as a kid and because there was a trans person, a trans kid at that school, to inform the teachers and answering questions and I burst into tears because I was just imagining being that kid. Being that kid, would mean that the teachers would be on this kid's side and they would have the support of their family, they have probably reduced bullying and things like that and that just made me so overwhelmingly happy and I realised the reason that it made me happy, was because I didn't have that you know, so glad that someone else doesn't have to go through this experience (Dana).

Dana reflects on how this learner's school experience will be different from hers because they will have institutional support. It has been shown that school support, such as inclusive policies, affirming school staff, and LGBTIQ+ societies, can improve school experiences for LGBTIQ+ youth and, therefore, their access to education (Kosciw, Palmer, Kull & Greytak, 2013). Activists and researchers have argued that expecting educational institutions to introduce policies that incorporate the diversity of students' gender identities is not unreasonable (Beemyn et al., 2005). This will ensure all students feel comfortable and validated in their learning space - as Dana wishes she had been. However, such policy changes cannot exclude the input of trans learners themselves (Sausa, 2005). In collaborative qualitative projects, school-going trans youth have put together recommendations and action plans for making schools safer spaces (Johnson et al., 2014; Sausa, 2005), which highlights the necessity of centring young people's expertise when developing policies that affect their lives.

Although educational spaces are still predominantly sites of trans-exclusion, Dana's extract also shows how schools have the ability to create a sense of belonging for trans youth.

In this way, as with other cistems, educational institutions have the potential for both violence and nurturance, or exclusion and belonging – sometimes happening in parallel. It is therefore necessary to remain aware of the dynamic and conflicted nature of such spaces.

Participants also discussed their experiences with university cistems. In the following extract, Eric recounts one of their friend's experiences at a university residence.

...she was trans in Cape Town and we were talking about, ja it was something, it was to do with the res...because she had stayed at [residence name] and they didn't want her, they didn't invite her to their...it was branded as a, because she had left then, it was branded as a men's gathering of [residence name], ex men of [residence name] and so [she] didn't get an invitation and so I think that is how we started discussing it and I was like, wow I was shocked, I was like, that is terrible... (Eric).

Here, Eric explains how their friend was not invited to their residence's alumni event because it was branded as an event 'for men', and the alumni committee decided that her gender identity did not align with this. This is another example of active exclusion. Furthermore, the decision about whether to attend the event or not was taken away from her, and thus she was denied agency. This is similar to the way Max was added to the 'Matric Dance Girls' group without their consent. Other literature has highlighted trans students' exclusion in university residences. In a Photovoice project about the experiences of black queer students at UCT, trans students highlighted how their residences were spaces of symbolic violence (Cornell et al., 2016). This is because students are placed in residences based on their gender assigned at birth, and not according to their present identification. In this way, cisgender identities are the assumed norm and anyone else is erased (Cornell et al., 2016). Such erasure forms part of wider practices within educational spaces where the 'ideal student' is constructed as male, cisgender, heterosexual, middle-class and white (Cornell et al., 2016). Students who fall within these categories are thus bestowed symbolic power within these spaces (Jones, Castellanos & Darnell, 2002; Read, Archer & Leathwood, 2003). It has been recommended

that students should be allowed to self-identify their gender and have their residence placements based on this (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015). There are also other aspects of universities that are trans-exclusionary and Calvin discusses one of these below.

I feel like the, the universities need to be more open to changing their application forms and stuff in terms of incorporating or allowing for gender identity to be acknowledged on the forms as well as chosen names if they are not legally changed. So for me I had to use my parents' surname which I don't usually...For various reasons, so I had to use that in varsity and fortunately my initials are the same so my first and middle name are the same initials so I could just write my initials instead of my birth name which was fine I guess... (Calvin).

In this extract, Calvin emphasises how university administrative procedures can be trans-exclusionary. Tasks such as filling in forms that do not allow for self-identification of name or gender mean that, before trans students have physically entered the university space, they are misgendered and/or must use their name given at birth. Other literature has emphasised the importance of having identity markers that align with one's self-identification (Beemyn et al., 2005). Firstly, having the correct name and gender on administrative documents reflects and affirms students' identities. Secondly, it also prevents students from being put in situations where they would have to explain why there is a mismatch in names/gender on their records. Not only could these situations be anxiety provoking, but they could also be dangerous. Lastly, having university records that reflect one's gender identity means that trans students will not have to risk discrimination in job or graduate applications by disclosing their gender identities. As discussed with regards to gendered bathrooms, the routine process of university admissions constitutes a form of identity regulation through which only certain groups are acknowledged by the university. Calvin stresses that universities should be more accommodating about self-identification, and this has been recognized as one way in which higher education can be more inclusive of trans students

(Beemyn et al., 2005). In South Africa, the Trans University Forum (TUF) - previously the Trans Collective - has formed in response to the exclusion and symbolic violence experienced by trans students at universities. Run by trans students, this group aims to “advance the inclusion and affirmation of trans people at South African universities” (Trans University Forum, 2017). In 2017, TUF did a national tour of seven universities to collect testimonies from trans students and staff members. These accounts are currently being collated into a report. Again, such advocacy work challenges dominant narratives in social science literature that solely portray young trans people as victims.

Healthcare cistems. Trans people experience multiple barriers to accessing healthcare – whether it be for gender affirming care, or routine medical check-ups. Given their life experiences, Dana and Ben spoke the most about healthcare, yet, these extracts are representative of what many trans people must negotiate (Mayer et al., 2008; Pega & Veale, 2015). Below, Dana discusses how difficult it can be to access general healthcare.

I think the biggest one for me is how limited access to necessities and health for trans people is. I mean like even if you do get your hands on oestrogen, you need blood tests and stuff for your health....so like general health things that you don't even consider, like getting routine liver checks and things like that, because it would be like you have to try and balance the amount of different hormone productions you have, because especially after surgery, because after surgery, like you have to stop a whole bunch of testosterone blockers and things like that and it's just those sort of general health things. You've got to look after that... (Dana)

The dominant narrative around trans healthcare focuses on the process of transitioning, however, like any individual, trans people need routine medical care with sensitised professionals. Also, as Dana highlights in the extract, medical transitioning also involves other procedures outside of securing hormones or surgery. Issues of healthcare access can be delineated according to non-discrimination, physical accessibility, economic accessibility and information accessibility (United Nations, 1966). While many people in South Africa face

barriers with regards to physical and economic accessibility, trans persons experience discrimination and a lack of information in addition to these (Müller, 2017). There is little research in South Africa that exclusively speaks to trans youths' access to general healthcare, however, Stevens (2012) found that 60% of trans participants had experienced a negative incident in a primary healthcare clinic. In interviews and focus groups with LGBT persons in South Africa, Müller (2017) found all participants had experienced discrimination related to their gender identity and/or sexual orientation. This forms part of the "limited access" that Dana refers to in her narrative. The outcomes of such experiences, are that trans persons feel unsafe in and excluded from healthcare contexts, and thus may avoid seeking care altogether (Müller, 2012). Another context in which trans persons face barriers is access to gender affirming care.

And, and then I think, ja then towards the beginning of this year like my psychiatrist said, like maybe you should make a plan to you know start transitioning privately rather than waiting for Groote Schuur...Because by that time I had tried to get another appointment with Groote Schuur and it was taking months and months to try, try and go back. So then I managed to see an endocrinologist and within like a few weeks I could start hormones... (Ben).

Ben explains how he had to consult a private endocrinologist because accessing hormones through a government hospital was taking too long. The contrast between the months of waiting in the public sector, and the few weeks it took Ben to receive hormones privately is stark. Private medical care is significantly more expensive, and gender affirming hormones are not covered by medical aids (Müller, 2012). This means that young trans persons who wish to transition must either wait long periods or pay substantial medical bills. Access to timely care thus becomes a matter of financial position, with those who can afford private care receiving hormones, and poorer trans youth having to wait. Research from other countries has shown that such exclusionary healthcare systems means that trans persons may

make use of ‘DIY’ transitions (Gooren, Sungkaew, Giltay & Guadamuz, 2015; Rotondi et al., 2013). This involves using non-prescribed hormones and/or performing surgery on oneself (Rotondi et al., 2013). While I view these actions as a form of advocacy and self-preservation within a cistem that does not cater for the healthcare needs of trans individuals, there is the potential for harm. Hormone use needs to be monitored through routine check-ups to see how one responds to the medication and how it might interact with existing medical conditions (Müller, 2012; Rotondi et al., 2013). ‘DIY’ surgeries could also lead to infection, disability, or even death. It is possible for hormones to be administered by family doctors in primary care settings. However, there are currently no guidelines for primary healthcare workers to prescribe hormones in South Africa (Müller, 2012), and this can be regarded as a form of informational erasure of trans health needs (Rotondi et al., 2013). This also highlights the ways in which healthcare professionals become gatekeepers for health services. Below, Dana and Ben discuss their experiences with gatekeeping. A gatekeeper can be understood as a healthcare professional who controls a person’s access to healthcare systems. Within the context of trans healthcare, ‘gatekeeping’ is most often used within the context of gender affirming care.

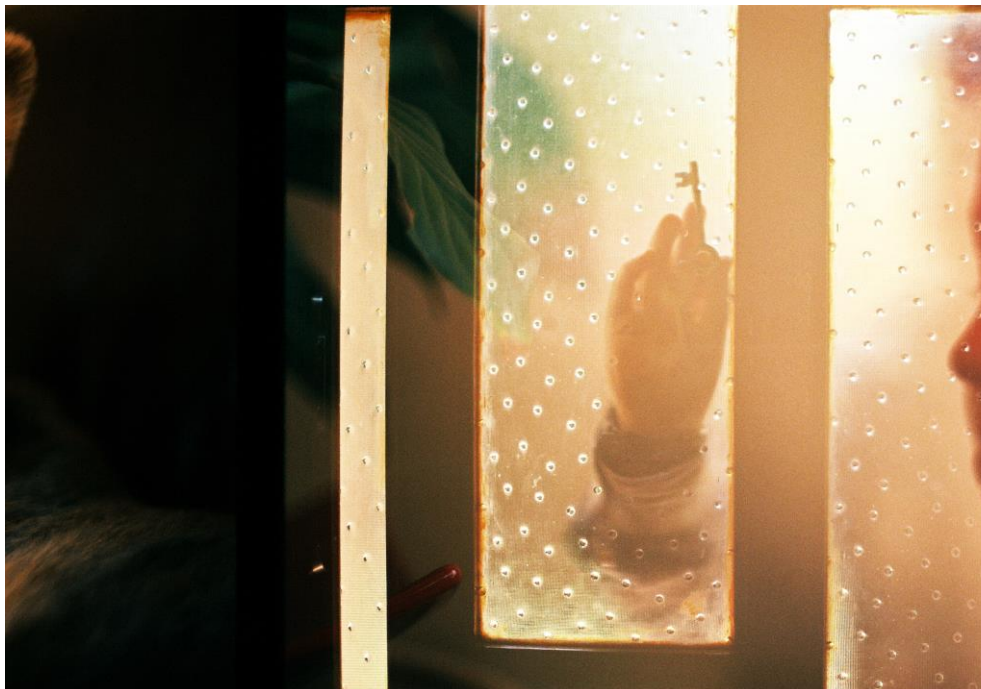
Like even 6 months before you could get a letter of referral and then sit in front of [the plastic surgeon], what looked like a Jedi Council of like doctors, like looking at you like deciding whether they would take you on as a trans person. Literally when I go back to that memory, I think of the Jedi Council and you stand in the middle and like all these doctors like psychologists, psychiatrists, surgeons, you name it, they were all there, social workers, endocrinologists. That is why I got the surgery earlier, is because I went through the Jedi Council (Dana).

Dana had her gender affirming surgery a few years ago when the process for accessing such care involved an in-depth evaluation procedure with multiple healthcare professionals (Müller, 2012). Dana expresses how intimidating this was by likening it to standing before

the Jedi Council. The Jedi are the protagonists in the Star Wars movie franchise, and the Jedi Council – comprised of the most influential, wisest and strongest Jedi - are their leaders. By likening the medical panel to the Jedi Council, Dana emphasises the inequitable power dynamics at play in this process, and her subsequent feeling of powerlessness under their scrutiny. In this process, the decision to transition is taken away from the trans individual, and placed in the hands of medical professionals who, “[decide] whether they [will] take you on as a trans person.” Nowadays, the process is somewhat different after the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) published the most recent Standard of Care protocol (SOC-7) in 2012. For breast or chest surgery, a person needs a letter of referral from one mental health professional (WPATH, 2012). For genital surgery, they need referrals from two mental health professionals (WPATH, 2012). All genital surgery patients should also have been taking hormones for a minimum of 12 months before their surgery. Some genital surgeries also require that the individual has lived as their identifying gender for at least a year, and this needs to be recorded by the same mental health professional who writes the referring letter (Müller, 2012). Although the level of analysis in this approach is lower in comparison to the previous evaluation process, the authority to decide whether someone is ready for surgery still resides with mental health professionals. Thus, the power hierarchy that Dana describes is still active, but just in a different format. While mental health professionals who are up to date on current trans healthcare policies prefer to partner with their patients throughout their transition, not all psychologists and psychiatrists are as knowledgeable, and thus have the potential to be transphobic and/or prevent people from accessing care (Müller, Röhrs, Hoffman-Wandered, & Moulton, 2016). Ben encapsulated his feelings about gatekeeping in the following photograph (Photograph 6) and narrative:

...I suppose in a way, it felt like there was always this, I don't know, this sort of like thing that I needed to achieve to be able to start transitioning, but it was like always out of reach kind of thing. I kind of really struggled with that because I don't know, like I realised that it's very important for someone to be stable and everything like that to be able to go through transition and stuff like that, but then I have also been very angry about gatekeeping and everything like that and I never know what is really the truth, like how much of it has been gatekeeping and how much is like sensible... (Ben).

Photograph 6, Ben: *No title*



For any person to start transitioning, they need to show that they are psychologically stable (WPATH, 2012). However, this can be complex for trans persons who have mental health issues that are exacerbated by gender dysphoria – as was the case for Ben. A vicious cycle can thus be formed where an individual is distressed because their body is not aligned with their gender identity, yet they cannot take steps to ameliorate this through transitioning because they are not ‘stable’. This cycle left Ben feeling barred from accessing the care he needed, as is depicted in his photograph. This photograph can be read in two ways. Initially,

that the person pressing against the glass door is Ben who wishes to access the treatment he needs, which is symbolically located on the other side. Although he is holding a key, which could be said to represent what he knows to be true about his mental health stability, it cannot unlock the bureaucratic procedures of the broader healthcare system. Alternatively, the person holding the key to the door could represent the doctors who can grant Ben the treatment he needs, yet this is inaccessible as it is still on the other side of a locked door. In both cases, it must be noted that the glass door still allows Ben to see what is on the other side, i.e. he knows what care he needs but cannot access it.

Either way, Ben's experience of gatekeeping has made him question how much of this process was sensible, and how much of it was policing trans identities. Indeed, prior research has shown that timely access to gender affirming treatment is linked to fewer mental health issues in the future (Cohen-Kettenis et al., 2011; de Vries et al., 2011). Given the discussion about mental health professionals and gate-keeping, the following interaction took place between Ben and myself.

Ben: Ja, and I suppose like [long pause] in a way I have gone [long pause] not sort of lost faith in professionals but like have to like [long pause] felt like I had to re-evaluate how much I trust professionals.

Sorrel: Okay.

Ben: It is not an indictment of your profession.

Sorrel: I know.

This interview with Ben took place within the UCT Psychology Department, and all the participants were aware that the interviews formed part of my Masters in Psychological Research. Additionally, psychology and psychiatry have a history of pathologising and stigmatising trans persons (Tosh, 2014, 2016). I was thus aware when I started the interviews, that it was possible that the participants would be wary of me and my motives, given my

positioning as a psychological researcher. I think it was this unspoken dynamic that informed the above interaction. Ben wanted to express his frustration and disillusionment with mental health professionals given his experiences, yet he was hesitant as he did not want to offend me. This can be seen in his initial long pauses and how quick he was to try and comfort me, “It is not an indictment of your profession.” However, my feelings at that point in the interview were rather ones of shame at being associated with a field that has historically pathologised trans individuals and my resultant doubts, given my positionality, that I should be doing such research. These feelings led to my equally quick response of, “I know” as a way of indicating to Ben that I was not offended by his comment and, that I agreed with him. In this way, I was trying to enact the role of ‘good ally’ by allowing Ben to express himself authentically without getting upset, even if what he was saying was uncomfortable for me. This interaction also made me reflect on how my position as a psychological researcher might have unintentionally silenced certain topics within the interviews. I have questioned whether someone from another field, by way of their academic identity, might have opened up more space for the critique of psychology.

Workplace cistems. For young trans people, finding employment can be difficult. This is due to, firstly, the bureaucratic systems surrounding applying for a job, and, secondly, trans-antagonism in the workplace. In the following extracts, Calvin and Ben narrate their experiences with these cistems.

Well my name isn't legally changed yet...So I still have to hand in photocopies of my ID with my birth name on it, and ID number where the middle digits portray that I am female...it is very tough in terms of you don't, I don't always know if somebody is, a manager or something is going to be okay with me being trans and they are not technically allowed to not hire me on that, on that front but a lot of them have actually...Without saying it in that many words but you just know, when they are telling you no, because you don't fit the image... (Calvin).

You know stuff like getting your ID changed and then driver's license changed and your bank details changed, getting tax details changed. Ja, like some, some of that. Like I have had this recently and it is like the most annoying. Because like it is all, you know it is all doable and straightforward but like, it is just so bureaucratic...I have had my name legally changed...But I haven't had my like gender marker or whatever legally change...And so this being, like this whole awkwardness surrounds all of that, mostly when anything official comes up like filling in forms or always been like getting a job and then they need a copy of my ID... (Ben).

Under South Africa's legal legislation, any person can change their name, and trans persons can change their gender marker (SALC, 2016). However, changing one's gender marker is a laborious process that requires trans people to give 'evidence' of their gender through medical reports from doctors (SALC, 2016). Gender affirming surgery is not required for a gender marker change, but taking hormones is. However, this law is not applied equitably across all Home Affairs departments, and thus trans people are often turned away, asked invasive questions, told they must have had surgery, or are made to wait extensive periods of time before receiving their new documents (SALC, 2016). Given these circumstances, some trans people will choose not to change their gender marker. Yet, as Calvin and Ben describe above, this can create a series of bureaucratic problems which force trans persons to disclose their gender assigned at birth to potential employers. As Calvin outlined above, this creates the opportunity for discrimination, as trans persons can be turned away because they "don't fit the image" of the company. Thus, in the same way that access to healthcare is dependent on gatekeepers, so is access to employment dependent on how much an individual employer understands about being trans. In her work with transwomen, Yavorsky (2016) demonstrates how corporate workplaces are presented as neutral spaces where collective goals can be obtained. However, traditional corporate practices and structures systemically privilege cisgender, heterosexual, white men. In this way, the 'ideal' employee is similar to the 'ideal' student that was discussed in the educational section, and those who do not align with these

‘ideals’ are excluded. Such workplace environments can often be hostile towards trans young adults, which makes long term employment difficult.

Just things people say without thinking, people being prejudiced or like insulting but then like, I mean it kind of happens at the sort of place I was working at...And ja I mean like that kind of put me in a really difficult position because since I left they have offered me some work like doing admin work and I have done it, because I have really needed, I really need work but like on a moral and ethical level I feel like totally against the place, like as a business organization the because like, I found the whole like management and everything really, so they are totally accepting of racism, like homophobia, transphobia everything like that... (Ben).

In this extract, Ben emphasises the double bind that young trans people often face in terms of employment. They are either expected to tolerate a work place that is not a safe space for them or be unemployed. South Africa’s constitution does not permit discrimination based on sex, gender identity or sexual orientation (SALC, 2016). Yet, as shown above, this is not the reality. Research on trans experiences in the workplace is relatively scarce, however, Ben and Calvin’s experiences align with existing literature that highlights trans harassment and unfair dismissal in the workplace (Dietert & Dentice, 2009; Grant et al., 2011).

In this section, I have outlined how everyday cistems normalise the exclusion of young trans people. In the quote and photograph below, Calvin explains how these routine, often symbolic exclusions, translate into real life obstacles.

...the obstacles we face are more than just getting past the way people see us or how we are expected to act in order to become who you are. These obstacles are rather the things we have to go through in life. Most of the obstacles are simple things that are normal to others, and almost seem pretty every-day to most people. Things like filling in forms, because this requires legal names and, when you haven’t legally changed your name, this can be one of the most difficult obstacles. But all obstacles are worth overcoming. They make for triumphs that are sometimes small but always help you to

feel like you are doing okay that day. The triumphs in your journey often feel very affirming (Calvin).

Photograph 7, Calvin: *Obstacles*



Calvin describes how everyday actions, such as filling out a form, can become hurdles for trans people, given their cisgender heterosexual foundations. This can be expanded to the other everyday experiences that were discussed in this section: going to school, visiting the doctor, and seeking employment. For cisgender people who are the accepted ‘norm’ in these cistems, these are routine and mundane tasks. However, for young trans people, they can seem like a never-ending series of obstacles to overcome, as Calvin expressed in his

photograph (Photograph 7). However, Calvin also emphasises his resilience in the face of these exclusions by voicing how validating it is to overcome them. Another form of resilience for trans youth comes in the form of finding community.

Pockets of community: ‘...what it means for me to be trans in Cape Town is through other people’. Although the participants experienced many aspects of Cape Town as exclusionary, they also spoke about pockets of community. Finding community, whether it was with other trans people or not, created a support network for the participants, and acted as a buffer between them and the cistems they must navigate. Thus, even within these exclusionary systems, there exist spaces that create a sense of belonging. In the excerpt below, Eric underscores how working with trans organisations has allowed them to build meaningful relationships.

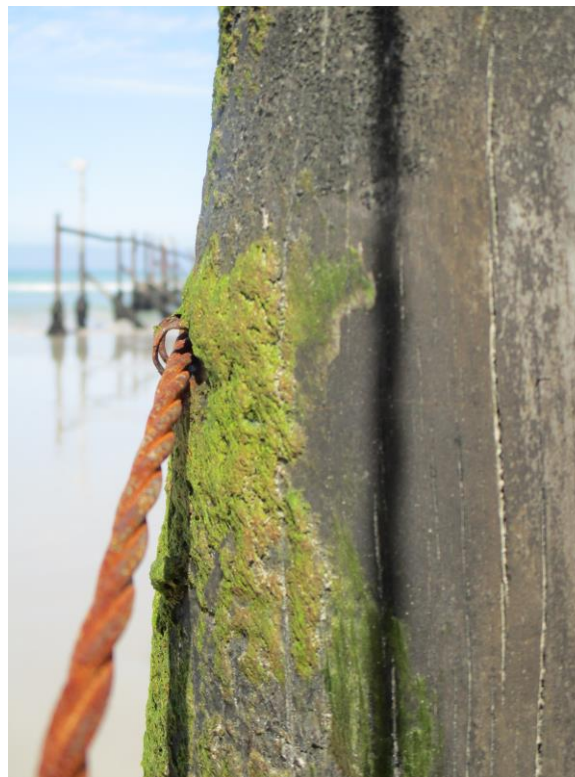
...the one thing I do appreciate is the fact that there are collectives, there are groups, there are like other trans people that you can meet and I recently started doing work with [a queer rights organisation] and that has also been amazing because then you are working with trans people who are employed to work with trans people to do things for trans people so, that has been particularly enjoyable and then also just the connections that I have made through Cape Town...but I think for a lot of what it means for me to be trans in Cape Town is through other people....so those kind of relationships are really valuable and what is like built up I think identity.... (Eric).

Eric values the communities they have found within the greater Cape Town space. While Cape Town overall is still not a safe space for queer or trans people, there are enclaves of nurturance and resistance. Within these spaces, Eric appreciates the opportunity to form friendships and to work in the interests of trans people. These are therefore very empowering spaces for them. Eric also emphasises how they feel they are trans *through* others, and how being in community with other trans people has allowed them to understand their identity better. Eric’s broader narrative was very much one of finding community - even though their

expectations of Cape Town as the ideal queer city changed, they have still found queer homes here. Calvin has had a similar experience in terms of developing friendships with other trans men.

...I think the most important links that I've made in the last five, six years are links with other trans guys who I know and understand what I'm going through and understand me and who all accept me no matter what...somebody that you've met because of something you have in common and you understand each other, support each other. It forms a kind of a link, even if you don't speak to them for a year, you know that you'll still have that link to them, that bond. And I mean, these poles as far as I know have been on that beach for so long, and it's still there. Those chains are still there and those little link things are still there (Calvin).

Photograph 8, Calvin: *Links*



Calvin refers to the friendships he has formed with other trans men as “links” and these are represented by the metal links that connect the beach poles in the above photograph (Photograph 8). These friendships have created a support network for Calvin where he feels accepted and understood. The photo represents the strength and durability of these friendships, because, just as those chains have remained over the years, so will Calvin’s relationships with his trans friends. Calvin and Eric both deeply value the community they have found with other trans people, but Ben has found support through other groups.

It has really helped being a part of NA and other fellowships, because like really you know the, they put a huge emphasis on reaching out and talking to people and stuff. So like even if the people I am talking to aren’t transgender and stuff like that, you know it is just built like a pattern of talking to people (Ben).

Being a part of Narcotics Anonymous and other groups has helped Ben build a support network and reach out to others when he is struggling. Even though these people might not be trans, they have assisted him in forming a community. Eric, Calvin and Ben’s experiences echo findings about the importance of social support. It is well-established that social support acts as a buffer against numerous life stressors (Hirsch & DuBois, 1992; Rhodes, Contreras, & Mangelsdorf, 1994). Research with school-going trans youth has found that greater perceived social support was linked to higher levels of psychological well-being (Grossman, D’Augelli & Frank, 2011). Schools with gay-straight alliances (GSAs) have found that LGBT youth experience lower levels of victimisation at school (Heck, Flentje, & Cochran, 2011), a greater sense of safety (Kosciw et al., 2008), and less absenteeism (Walls, Kane, & Wisneski, 2009). Additionally, seeking social support in communities external to trans youths’ schools and family systems (e.g. in support groups or through social media) has been identified as an aspect of psychological resilience amongst trans youth (Grossman et al., 2011; Singh et al., 2013). However, finding community with mostly cisgender people can be complex, as Ben discusses below:

...that has been interesting it's, it has been a bit of a challenge like...the way men will talk about women like when they assume...I just find it really confusing because like in one way it is nice to be just one of the guys in another way it is not nice to be one of the guys when guys are talking like that...just talking about women as like basically sex talk....but then it also comes up it is like feeling you know when I want to say something, you know if I want say it to whoever is talking like that like, don't talk like that it is, you know it is also a fear of like, of they kind of think, you know they are going to find out something about me (Ben).

Here, Ben is reflecting on his experience of attending an NA group where he is the only trans member and he outlines the tension he experiences within this space. On the one hand, he feels affirmed and included when he is accepted as “just one of the guys”, but this acceptance comes with being privy to talk that sexually objectifies women. Ben wishes to confront such problematic talk, yet, he is concerned that this might lead to him being ‘outed’. This highlights the tension between exclusion and belonging. Ben is included in this space, but he feels that it is dependent on him participating in heterosexist masculine narratives. Any deviance from these narratives has the potential for him to be excluded.

This extract aligns with what has been described in the ‘Educational cistems’ section: how all spaces have the possibility to be simultaneously supportive and exclusionary. These smaller spaces can be seen as microcosms of the greater Cape Town space, in which the participants experience both exclusion and belonging on a daily basis.

4.2.2 Invisibility/hypervisibility. This was the most prolific narrative of the participants’ stories of their lives in Cape Town. All the participants spoke about how, in some instances, they felt invisible and isolated, yet, at other times, felt a sense of hypervisibility in the public gaze. This section discusses these experiences by, firstly, exploring the participants’ narratives of invisibility, and, secondly, their narratives of hypervisibility and options for resistance. I then reflect on what this means for a project that centred around visual methodology.

Invisibility. While the sub-theme of ‘Exclusion’ focused on the ways in which systems and/or physical spaces are made inaccessible to trans youth, the sub-theme of ‘Invisibility’ concentrates on how the participants experienced a lack of trans representation and felt socially unseen.

Until I was about 22 or 23 I don't think I knew about transitioning. I only knew about ‘transsexuals’, who were in comedy movies as men dressed up as women, to be laughed at. I was already starting to enjoy photography, and loved looking at photos, and found some transgender and genderqueer people who posted their photography online. It was like a little window onto a new world.... I think for most people there is a need to belong somewhere, and for transgender and other non-binary people, there are probably fewer places where belonging is safe (Ben).

...so I would say even though, like being in Cape Town specifically, like geographically, I don't really see trans people, like who are gender non-conforming, like maybe binary appearing people. I don't really see non-binary people that often. I've never really had a friend who is non-binary before. Not like a friend that I have naturally just met, have to make an effort to meet them... (Max).

In the above extracts, Ben and Max talk about the lack of visibility of trans people that they have experienced while growing up in Cape Town. Ben was only exposed to certain portrayals of trans people in the media – “men dressed as women” - and Max has rarely encountered non-binary persons in everyday scenarios. Max and Ben both describe a sense of wishing to belong, or establish connection, however, as Ben emphasises, this is not easy. The outcome of such experiences is that trans youth can feel invisible and isolated (Holtby, Klein, Cook & Travers, 2015). During their second interview, Max expanded on this feeling of isolation by reading a poem they had written.

*I walk in the street with a look on my face that says, ‘Don't fuck with me’
It doesn't matter what I wear, the feeling always remains the same.
From the looks on their faces they gave in return, they walk in the street with pure
indifference and an arrogance that permits them to dismiss me, they pretend I don't*

exist.

Their direction moves with their eyes only forward, they can't see past their destination, they refuse a smile, refuse an acknowledgement of presence and it's a lonely city, a lonely world, but I see they have friends and lovers to fill it with.

Can you pretend you're not lonely for so long?

Must I follow the same culture you deem fit that you don't see it all, they don't see what I see daily, an isolation of the body and the public, but I was not born to be hidden, I was a lion made to roar.

I know you see me though you don't want to, I can't be raised like that no, I was born to shine.

Don't tell me it's all in my head that I've been paranoid to believe in this paranoia you tell me I exude...

... We will live on pretending that we matter to somebody else when we can't look at each other in the eyes to confirm it.... Isolation, do you feel that? (Max).

Max's poem captures how ignoring another person on the street is often an intentional act, and thus their existence as a trans person is purposefully marginalised. They describe how people look at them on the city streets, but they are not 'seen'; they are in the city but not considered a part of it. Max questions whether, in order to be accepted (seen), they need to assimilate into the dominant (cis)culture. This sense of invisibility and isolation is depicted in Ben's photograph (Photograph 9) below.

Photograph 9, Ben: *No title*



Through double exposure techniques, Ben has created two shadow figures that are simultaneously in the picture yet not, as the viewer can still see through them to the background. In the same way, trans youth live in Cape Town, yet do not feel a part of the city, because there are few experiences that affirm their presence. One of the figures in the photograph is also reaching towards the other, which may be symbolic of young trans persons' desire to connect with others like them. Other researchers have explored these experiences in more detail and found similar results. In a grounded theory study, Austin (2016) explored how transgender young adults navigated their identity within the contexts of cisgender privilege, marginalisation and invisibility. All the participants emphasised how, during childhood, they felt that their gender identity was 'inappropriate' because it was not portrayed as an option. However, the participants also spoke of how meeting someone of a similar identity to them was a greatly affirming and life-changing moment. The experiences

of these young people, and the participants in this project, underscore how important representation – or ‘visibility’ - is to young trans persons. It also emphasises the need to break down the hegemonic representations of gender as binary, rather than expecting trans people to fit existing gender constructs. Indeed, Horak (2014) argues that this is already happening by trans youth producing their own media content on YouTube. Horak (2014) posits that through creating their own videos, trans youth position themselves as experts on their bodies, identities, and transitions and are able to represent these in an affirming way. However, trans activists have also cautioned against overemphasising trans visibility at the expense of trans justice (Vaid-Menon, 2017). Vaid-Menon (2017) states that prioritising visibility creates the impression that all trans people want to be seen all the time, and this produces a constant state of surveillance or, as I have termed it in this dissertation, hypervisibility.

Hypervisibility. In the participants’ experiences of Cape Town, feelings of invisibility and isolation were intersected with moments of intense hypervisibility. While trans persons have historically aimed for visibility as a political goal in response to erasure from the public sphere (Sears & Williams, 1997), as the following quotes show, being visible is not always positive. Instead, attention can be invasive and threatening rather than friendly – hence the term ‘hyper-visibility’. While each participant’s experience is different, they all relate to how their gender expression is perceived by society. Below, Calvin explains why his photograph, ‘Spotlight’ (Photograph 10), represents his experiences of being trans in Cape Town.

It’s more spotlight like the fact that you always feel watched and judged and, like you’ve always got this light on you so that everyone’s looking, you know. Everyone’s like watching for you to do something that’s maybe not in the box that they want to put you in that they can catch you out or something. It’s more like the constantly feeling judged and watched and that you must keep acting a certain way because you

feel like you're in the spotlight...People aren't always watching you for the right reasons or watching you with purpose or intent or things like that (Calvin).

Photograph 10, Calvin: *Spotlight*



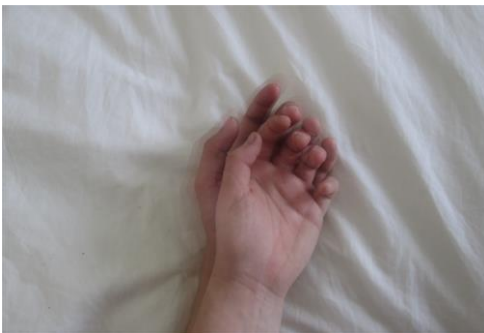
Through this image and quote, Calvin describes the visual scrutiny he experiences daily because he disrupts gender norms: “Everyone’s like watching for you to do something that’s maybe not in the box.” In this way, hypervisibility can be understood as examination based on an apparent difference, which is incorrectly construed as a threat. Just as the light in the photograph is harsh, so does the public gaze feel menacing to Calvin: “watching you with purpose or intent or things like that.” Calvin clearly differentiates between being seen and being watched. In the subsequent quote, Max also references the unsettling nature of being watched.

Well basically I face misgendering all the time...I get objectification because I'm seen as a woman, but only when I look a certain way, like it depends. If I look more masculine, then I get noticed more, but if I look, for example, how I did with my longer hair, I felt more invisible, but yet seen as unattractive, so I had to choose, do I want to be attractive today even if I'm seen as a woman, or do I want to be ugly and completely invisible (Max).

Max explains how the attention they receive is based on how they perform their gender.

Given the public's discrimination against those who disrupt gender norms (Herek, 1986), how Max chooses to perform their gender on a given day, determines how they are treated. If they perform their gender in alignment with what is considered "attractive" for their gender assigned at birth they are more accepted, yet, they are then misgendered as a woman, and experience sexist objectification. However, if they express themselves in a more masculine way, they receive more negative attention, which is also a form of objectification. Lastly, if they express themselves in a non-binary way, they are read as "ugly" and feel "completely invisible". None of these readings are comfortable for Max, as they all either objectify or marginalise them. However, as an act of resistance, Max used their photo-story (Photographs 11, 12 and 13) for the exhibition to speak back to these incorrect interpretations of their gender:

Photographs 11, 12 and 13, Max: *No title*



Being a non-binary transgender person, to the world I am perceived by just my outer image; people see me a certain way and therefore have expectations of my character or a story about me. Now that I have a voice, I am portraying my transness the way I want to without preconceived ideas...The photos I have curated are close-ups of certain body parts. This is to emphasise the outer world in my eyes, which things I notice and feel connected to. As you might have seen the body parts and pictures themselves are gender neutral. I like the idea of not being able to tell who the people are in the pictures; they could be anyone (Max).

In this photo-narrative, Max actively resists the assumptions others make about their gender based on their visual appearance. By purposefully creating images that are gender ambiguous, Max simultaneously confronts our need to categorise according to the gender binary, and centres non-binary persons' experiences. In this way, Max is deconstructing societal ideas about gender, and furthering non-binary representation, just as other young trans people have done through YouTube (Horak, 2014).

As with Max, Eric has also had uncomfortable experiences with how people interpret their gender expression:

...especially in UCT so you will have the people who are like super like, claim to be super super progressive but so when they see you on campus and this is like mortifying for me it is like, they will see you, and when I first got braids, this is the second time I got braids...and these people scream, they are like, "Yes it is!" from across the Jammie Plaza and I was just like, I don't need this kind of like, you're over...Like over enthusiasm not like, for no reason, like that is what I loved about, the conference because it was just so, like you would dress and the people would be like "Oh I like your outfit" ...Or, "like the way you look", as opposed to being like, "Oh my god, it is the end of the world, your outfit is so..." no, calm down, it's a, I am wearing a dress and I've got hair and I am wearing, like that is it, like it is not that, I am not a model on a runway... (Eric).

In this extract, Eric narrates how students at UCT, who think they are being positive, supportive, and progressive, objectify Eric through their exaggerated behaviour. Through

this, they are drawing unwanted attention to Eric. While the students appear to mean well, their actions sensationalise Eric, and therefore objectify them. In this scenario, Eric's own ability to control how their gender expression is interpreted is removed. Eric contrasts this experience at UCT with a conference they went to where only trans people were present. In that space, people would compliment Eric's outfit without making a spectacle of them.

Participants in a qualitative study about trans young adults, who were transitioning while at college, made similar comments (Pusch, 2005). They stressed how not all support is experienced as affirming. For example, being constantly questioned about their experiences, or being seen as 'interesting', is exhausting. One participant termed this as being an "object of curiosity" (Pusch, 2005, p. 53) which highlights how well-intended attention can still contribute to the objectification of trans persons.

The complexities around invisibility and hypervisibility have previously been written about with regards to the life experiences of people of colour (Nagel & Stachel, 2008; Reddy, 1998), particularly black women (Krusemark, 2012). However, less appears to have been written in relation to gender identity, although it is acknowledged that those who occupy minority positions on any identity axis, are either rendered invisible or hypervisible (Johnson & Baylorn, 2015). In relation to black queer women, Johnson and Baylorn (2015) therefore theorise that, "When bodies are marked absent and present simultaneously, it results in a fourth form of visibility, hyper-invisibility. Hyper-invisibility describes a space where bodies are visible, but in limited ways that tend to mark those bodies even more invisible" (p. 22). Although they are not writing about trans youth, the parallels between what Johnson and Baylorn (2015) describe, and the experiences of the participants in this project, are evident. Trans youth feel invisible within Cape Town due to a lack of representation and recognition, yet, when these do occur, they are sensationalised, skewed, and threatening, therefore leading to a feeling of further erasure, or, hyper-invisibility.

Reflecting on Photovoice. Given the above discussion about hyper(in)visibility, and how this intersects with fetishisation and objectification, I had to reflect on how this related to Photovoice methodology - particularly the exhibition component. Photovoice relies heavily on visual data, and the exhibition showcases the photographic work of the participants. For this project, some of the participants also chose to include photographs of themselves. This was intended to be a space where participants could represent themselves, and what is important to them, on their own terms, thereby contributing to their empowerment. However, given the context of how trans people are scrutinised and consumed by the cis-gaze, I had to question whether, in this project, it was empowering. It also made me wonder whether methodologies that align with radical social change in theory, can deliver as much in reality, when such methodologies are practised in unjust contexts. For, as Cannella and Mauelito (2008) argue, “Even research conceptualisations (like qualitative participatory action research) that construct false illusions of equity...would require astute critical examination” (p.55). It was thus necessary to critically reflect on whether my chosen methodology had achieved what it claimed to do. While some of the participants did find the process beneficial to their identity building, others were critical of the process. Max’s feedback after the exhibition, along with the photograph below, are representative of some of the critiques raised:

There were a lot of cis people there. Which is fine, but it felt like they expected me to educate them and as if this project was for their learning journey. They were speaking about my photos in front of me about how they thought my narrative didn’t correlate with my photos – as a trans person this is so offensive because it’s not about their interpretation of gender identity and expression, it’s about mine. I just felt like it was voyeurism... (Max)

Photograph 14, Taken by the researcher: *The cis-gaze*



In addition to feedback from the participants, exhibition attendees were also given an opportunity to leave their thoughts and comments on sticky notes on a piece of cardboard. The majority of these were very supportive and positive, but one note simply read, “VOYEUR”. In these responses, we can see several of the same issues that the participants narrated with regards to feelings of invisibility/hypervisibility. Firstly, even though the exhibition was centred around trans youth, most of the attendees were cisgender, which meant that, even at an exhibition that was meant to promote trans youth visibility, they were not visible. Secondly, this dynamic then shifted the focus of the exhibition, from centring and re-presenting trans youths’ life experiences, to that of educating the cis public about what it means to be trans. Thirdly, the emphasis also became about how the audience was interpreting the photographs rather than how the participants wanted to portray themselves. This is an almost exact replication of what participants experience day-to-day, when others

draw conclusions about their gender. Lastly, these factors contributed to a feeling of the participants being *watched* – “felt like it was voyeurism” – rather than being *seen* as their authentic selves. I thus argue that the exhibition in many ways perpetuated the hyper-invisibility described by Johnson and Baylorn (2015), or as Crenshaw (1991) states, “tokenistic, objectifying, voyeuristic inclusion is at least as disempowering as complete exclusion,” (p. 1261). Holtby et al. (2015) considered some of these issues in a Photovoice project with queer and trans youth in Canada. The participants were specifically asked to engage with the complexities around in/visibility and representation while creating their photo-stories. One of the main themes that emerged was that of the ‘hostile gaze’. This encompassed: being seen as a representative of all trans and queer people; having their whole personhood reduced to their sexual and gender identities; feeling the need to fulfil certain narratives to have their identities affirmed and feeling like their lives were on display for cisgender and straight people’s judgement. Although not all these themes emerged from this project’s exhibition, there are congruences. Other writers have contemplated similar critiques of Photovoice methodology. For example, Srivastava and Francis (2006) have highlighted the risk in disclosing one’s life story when there is a power differential between the narrator and the audience. This leaves the stories open to being appropriated, evaluated, and inspected (Srivastava, 1996), as Max described in the earlier quote. Thus, placing one’s stories of oppression on show for consumption by those with greater privilege is a decision laden with risk for the narrator (Holtby, et al., 2015). The burden of representation is also taxing, as marginalised groups may feel pressure to make their stories acceptable and comprehensible to those in power (Cooper, 2010). It is then the audience’s decision as to how these stories are interpreted, and which ones are deemed satisfactory (Holtby, et al., 2015). Again, this is exactly what happened with Max’s photo-narrative: “They were speaking about my photos in front of me about how they thought my narrative didn’t correlate with my photos.” However,

these critiques do not mean that photo narrative methods should be discounted as tools for social justice (Razack, 1998). Rather, they should be utilised in ways that consider their potential for transformation *and* possible harm (Razack, 1998). The ways in which this can be done will be discussed further in the conclusion, under suggestions for future research.

Even though the critiques discussed are valid, there was also positive feedback from some participants and exhibition attendees.

I mean my experience of this project was I'm very passionate now about just making people more aware, because I mean people...people here in South Africa like they don't understand like they either see a trans woman as gay...I just feel like projects like this, education like this, you know making this more integrated into society, it just helps so much... (Dana)

I am very glad that this opportunity and that more people are doing these kinds of questionnaires and stuff these days and there is interviews and projects like this, because it is going to help with the cause of getting us out there and getting our voices heard you know...it's the whole purpose of this is so that our voices can be heard and our perspectives and I think it is a brilliant thing and that is why I was so keen to do this because, ja like there just really does need to be more exposure and more openness in media and more education in general and we have to start somewhere... (Calvin).

I was happy to see there are other people like me and I don't have to feel bad about it. Thanks (Attendee).

Continuing/contributing to a vital conversation (Attendee).

Incredible event! Would love to see more like it! (Attendee).

These quotes show the longing for more trans visibility, and by this, I draw on Holtby et al.'s (2015) definition of visibility: "a feeling of 'being seen for who one is' in a way that [makes one] feel recognised and valued in all of their complexity. This experience of visibility centres the importance of participants' agency: positive experiences of visibility [are] those where participants [are] recognised in the way they [want] to be," (pg. 325). Trans youth

want to 'be seen' for their authentic selves and they want more spaces where they can do this on their own terms, and photo-narrative methods can contribute to this.

4.2.3 Undoing Cape Town's 'queer utopia' narrative. Due to South Africa's progressive constitution, LGBTI+ persons here have relative freedoms in comparison to other African countries. Within the last 24 years, Cape Town has also come to represent liberal freedoms that were restricted under a widely homophobic and repressive apartheid government (Tucker, 2009). Moreover, the urban space of De Waterkant near the city centre, with its numerous gay bars and clubs, has further established the image of 'gay Cape Town' and, consequently, become a tourist attraction (Elder 2005; Oswin 2005; Visser, 2002). However, while Cape Town is frequently marketed as 'the gay capital of Africa', this idea has morphed within the public imaginary to represent a city safe for all 'non-normative' gender and sexual identities. Yet, as seen in this chapter, trans youths' experiences of Cape Town do not align with this dominant narrative, and thus, their photo-stories disrupt it. While most participants challenged this narrative indirectly by highlighting the various ways in which Cape Town is unsafe and inaccessible, some spoke about it directly. Eric's narrative in particular explored how the idea of Cape Town as a queer utopia has been undone through their experiences in the city.

I came to study here in Cape Town....Cape Town is set up as a space that is going to be super, super inclusionary, super super progressive and then, so you have an idea, so most people hear about Cape Town before they come to Cape Town and I think that was definitely the case with me and when you come here it is not, the real, the expectations don't meet the reality I think a lot of the time. So it has been interesting, it is safer in parallel to home [laughs] definitely but it is not what, what people said it would be I think a lot of the time and I definitely feel that again, also even within the university which is a bit, perceived as even more progressive (Eric).

...So, came to Cape Town was super excited and I think at first I was very like, I was enthralled in the experience, I was like okay wow there are queers who just walked

down the street holding hands and there are trans people here wow it is amazing. But I was like very much like the first week basically [laughs] the first week, which I think is just the shock of moving and like now it's, you know it is not illegal anymore (Eric).

In the above extracts, Eric speaks about how, before they arrived in Cape Town, it had been constructed as the ideal queer city, where all people are safe to express themselves freely. For the first week, Cape Town fulfilled Eric's expectations – "I was enthralled". However, this enchantment did not last long, and, in hindsight, Eric now attributes these feelings to the shock of realising that "[being queer] is not illegal anymore", as it is in their home country. Below, Eric narrates how they first began to critique Cape Town as a 'queer capital'.

But slowly I think at first most critical thing that I saw that I was like hmm, was the way it was racially divided and I think that was the first point which I was like okay this is interesting, for me it happened through a couple of different ways. Rainbow was one of the first things I went to, a Rainbow party on campus and you could already see they were like, in the room who was - the segregation happening and I was like okay this is but that is interesting...then we went to De Waterkant which is supposed to be like the gay village and again I found it super, super interesting because there was a, white people and one of the South Africans that I met from Cape Town were like, "Oh there is the white gay club and there is a black gay club," and like they are like ten meters walking distance away from each other and I was like, "What? I don't understand this" [laughing]. And so again, so one of these things started to pop up but again even within these spaces there was supremely like binary, okay so it was a gay man's club, white man club and there was a gay women's club and then trans people just didn't seem to like feature and if they did they were just like being were like performing or they were singing, or they were, they weren't there to enjoy themselves (Eric).

For Eric, the undoing of the queer utopia construct came about through exposure to the racial and spatial politics of Cape Town and how these intersected with their gender identity. In particular, they were conscientised to these dynamics through social experiences in Cape Town's 'gay village' – De Waterkant. Eric was disconcerted by the informal segregation of

the ‘gay’ clubs in Cape Town, and how this is accepted as normal, as seen in the local student’s explanation. Furthermore, the clubs were also delineated along the gender binary, and thus symbolically excluded trans persons. Eric’s only exposure to trans people in these spaces was as performers which perpetuates the broader patterns of hyper-invisibility discussed earlier. These experiences problematised the ‘Cape Town as queer utopia’ idea for Eric. Eric spoke the most about these intersecting identities, probably because, as the only person of colour in the group, they were the only one who had experienced Cape Town from a racialised perspective. However, Max (a self-identified white person) made similar comments about the ‘queer capital of Africa’ narrative.

Sorrel: *Just in relation to what you are saying about like going out in Cape Town and stuff, the media often refers to Cape Town as like the ‘queer capital of Africa’ so* [interrupt]

Max: *Maybe for white people.*

Sorrel: *Ja, like how do you feel about that slogan?*

Max: *I hate it because it is like, where? I can’t see that. Oh, because there’s one gay club? Nice gay white men. Cis-het gay white men. Like really nice, great, nothing for me.*

Similarly, other writers and activists have critiqued the idea of Cape Town as a safe space for all queer persons (Matebeni, 2016; Patel, 2017; Tucker, 2009), highlighting how, at best, it is a haven for the ‘gay white patriarch’ (Nast, 2002, p. 878). Matebeni (2016) argues that, “to be gay, in a Cape Town sense, is to have the luxury of not having to negotiate all forms of class, gender, sex and racial injustices and oppressions associated with post/apartheid identification” (p. 2). Thus, those who exist outside these privileges – poor queer persons, disabled persons, sex workers, trans persons, black lesbians, black queer radical feminists – Cape Town is experienced as inaccessible and suffocating (Matebeni, 2016). However, counter collectives and narratives are emerging through the Alternative Inclusive Pride

Network and Queering Cape Town. For example, in 2016, artists, students, academics and activists explored what it means to be queer in Cape Town through various media at the Queering Cape Town symposium, under the theme ‘Queer in Africa? The Cape Town Question’. More recently, in January 2018, the African Gender Institute organised a Queer Film Festival held in Khayelitsha which challenged the idea of De Waterkant being the queer ‘centre’ of Cape Town.

Given the present discussion around race, gender and space in Cape Town, the following extract from Max was worthy of reflexive interrogation.

I lived also in my community like, I come from [a suburb in the southern peninsula] so, I come from a place that's like really conservative and Christian and like quite white as well, I mean there's not really a lot of diversity and ja I mean they can't even accept like homosexual people, how are they going to accept trans people, you know what I mean? (Max).

In this quote, by using the phrase “you know what I mean?”, Max assumes a shared experience of living in majority white suburbs, given our shared racial identity. In using this phrase, Max supposes that I will know what they mean by the intolerance around gender and sexual diversity, and that, therefore, I can understand their feelings of exclusion within the suburb of their upbringing. This can be understood as an attempt by Max to form a connection with me, even though other areas of our lives, are vastly different.

4.3 Concluding comments

This chapter presented and discussed the main thematic narratives that emerged from the data and their sub-themes. These were represented both visually and textually through photographs and extracts from the narratives that participants used to describe their life in Cape Town. Overall, these spoke to how young trans persons negotiate constructs and cistems that do not recognise or affirm their identity. The first main thematic narrative ‘Navigating Identities’ foregrounded how trans youth navigate rigid understandings of

identity aspects – particularly those relating to gender and sexuality. Participants challenged these fixed ideas by drawing on narratives of fluidity to explain their identities. The second main thematic narrative ‘Living within/out the Cistem’ highlights the ways in which trans youth navigate external cistems and the city itself. To describe these, they drew on narratives of ‘exclusion/belonging’ and ‘invisibility/hypervisibility’. I then argued that these narratives disrupt the hegemonic narrative of ‘Cape Town as queer utopia’. While many of the experiences narrated by the participants showcase intersecting forms of violence, these did not dominate their narratives. They continually drew on counter narratives to enact agency within their stories and to position themselves as experts on their lives and identities.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to explore the lived experiences of transgender youth in Cape Town using photo-narrative methods. The project aimed to challenge ‘at risk’ narratives about transgender youth, and youth gender and sexuality more broadly, as well as to expand transgender research in South Africa. This project also aimed to contribute to the empowerment of participants by positioning them as experts, and thereby disrupting adult-centred knowledges within the social sciences. Narrative methodology in combination with Photovoice elements were used to guide the data collection, and critical feminist research was used as the theoretical framework. Five trans-identifying youth were interviewed and they each took photographs. This data was then analysed using thematic narrative analysis. Overall, the findings spoke to how young trans persons in Cape Town navigate their identity within constructs and cistems that erase them.

This chapter, firstly, provides a summary of the findings. Subsequently, I discuss the research contributions that this dissertation makes. I then outline some of the limitations of the study as well as offer suggestions for future research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

In this dissertation, I asked questions pertaining to how young trans persons narrate their lived experiences in Cape Town; how they choose to represent their gender and sexual identities through photo-narratives, and what counter-narratives are evident within these. The results outline how trans youth in Cape Town negotiate binaried constructs, and cistems that do not acknowledge their identity. These emerged through two main thematic narratives, ‘Navigating Identities’ and ‘Living within/out the Cistem’, as well as various sub-themes. The first main thematic narrative, ‘Navigating Identities’, illustrated how participants navigated their identity within the context of rigid understandings of gender, sexuality, sex and gender expression. This section was delineated according to three sub-themes. Firstly, ‘Gendering

biology', where participants described how biological attributes, such as genitalia and chromosomes, are gendered by society, and therefore gender identity is seen as being innate, rather than performed. However, participants rejected this understanding by removing gendered connotations from genitalia and drawing on narratives of genetic diversity.

Secondly, within the sub-theme 'Expecting the gender binary', participants highlighted how young trans persons are expected to transition, and that this transition should take place along the gender binary. These expectations privilege certain trans experiences while rejecting others, such as gender non-conforming and non-binary persons. Yet, participants countered this expectation by foregrounding the ways in which gender, particularly gender expression, can be fluid. Thirdly, the sub-theme 'Defying assumed (cis)heterosexuality', showed how participants challenged assumptions about their sexual orientation. Indeed, most participants rejected traditional sexual orientation labels by referencing how these are founded in the gender binary. Instead, they used words to describe their sexuality that emphasised its dynamic and positional nature. It can therefore be seen, that, while rigid conceptions of gender and sexual identities remain commonplace, the participants disrupted these expectations by drawing on narratives of fluidity. This is in keeping with queer theory understandings of identity, which underscores how identities are variable, complex, and constantly in flux (Morland & Willox, 2005). Yet, participants' narratives of fluidity also concur with another aspect of queer theory: undoing normalised ways of knowing and being (Sullivan, 2003). In this way, participants' narratives of sexual and gender fluidity aim, "to frustrate, to counteract, to delegitimise...heteronormative knowledges and institutions, and the subjectivities and socialities that are (in)formed by them and that (in)form them" (Sullivan, 2003, p. vi). In doing this, they centred their experiences of sexuality and gender, and highlighted the ways in which young people navigate their identity within complex contexts.

The findings from the second main thematic narrative, ‘Living within/out the Cistem’, draw attention to the external cistems that young trans people must navigate in the city on a daily basis, and the narratives that these experiences elicit. These were, namely, narratives of ‘Exclusion/belonging’ and ‘Invisibility/hypervisibility’. Within ‘Exclusion/belonging’ participants described how, given the hegemony of the gender binary, they are excluded from various cistems within the city, such as, educational cistems, healthcare cistems, and workplace cistems. Such findings are in line with existing literature about trans persons’ limited access to everyday spaces (Beemyn, 2003; Grant et al., 2011; Greytak et al., 2009; Müller, 2012). These exclusions mean that tasks that are routine for cisgender persons, become obstacles to overcome for young trans people – applying for a job being a good example of this. However, participants also drew on narratives of belonging to describe how, within these cistems, they found pockets of community. These were mostly, but not always, within trans centred spaces, such as support groups or queer rights organisations. These spaces create a sense of belonging within the wider city and offer social support which can act as a buffer to the experiences of exclusion.

The second sub-theme related to narratives of ‘Invisibility/hypervisibility’. Herein, participants expressed how living in Cape Town involved intense experiences of both invisibility and hypervisibility. Narratives of invisibility relate to a lack of trans representation and feeling socially unseen. In their narratives of hypervisibility, participants described how, when they are ‘seen’ in the city, it feels more like being watched, and this is invasive and threatening. The intersection of invisibility/hypervisibility creates feelings of hyper-invisibility, where persons that challenge gender norms are made visible, but only in certain, limiting ways (Johnson & Baylorn, 2015).

At the end of this section, under the sub-theme ‘Undoing Cape Town as queer utopia’, I argue that participants’ narratives undo the idea of Cape Town as a safe space for all gender

and sexual minority groups. Rather, Cape Town is only a haven for *some* who occupy privileged positions along multiple identity axes (Matebeni, 2016), namely, white gay men within urban spaces (Tucker, 2009).

In summary, the results show how young trans people in Cape Town navigate their gendered and sexual identities within constructs and systems that do not recognise or affirm their existence. Having to negotiate identity within these - physical and symbolic - spaces creates narratives of experience that are themselves binaried i.e. exclusion versus belonging, invisibility versus hypervisibility, and rigidity versus fluidity. However, the findings also show the ways in which these experiences intersect with each other, and/or happen simultaneously. Therefore, this dissertation, through the use of methodologies that centre trans youth knowledges, emphasises how the lives of trans youth are much more complex than simply being ‘at risk’. To further this point, I draw on the words of performer, writer and theatre maker, Travis Alabanza, “I think when we look at transness, there is a real danger to just focus on our violence, or our surgery...but I think violence is complex – a lot of the times I’m experiencing violence after experiencing pure joy, or in between joy, or just after a show, or *during* a photoshoot – I wanted violence [in my book] to sit in between how it does in my life. The fact that trans feminine people have to learn to juggle and dance between intense emotional states...” (2017). Here, as in this dissertation, Alabanza emphasises how current narratives around trans persons are limiting - ‘our violence, or our surgery’ - and the need to view these issues in more nuanced, multi-faceted ways. This dissertation therefore highlights some of the complexities of living as a young trans person in Cape Town, and how alternative research methodologies, such as photo-narratives, can be useful in capturing the complex and intersecting nature of lived experiences.

6.2 Reflections on my Subjectivity and the Data Analysis Process

As stated earlier, I conducted this study from a social justice and gender activist standpoint. Additionally, my cisgender and psychological researcher identities positioned me as an outsider to my research participants. Upon reflection, these intersecting identities influenced the way I analysed the data. I felt I needed to prove my ally position to the trans community while simultaneously avoiding the role of ‘researcher as saviour’. I was also committed to the centring of participants’ knowledges and consciously wanted to move away from pathologising and othering analyses of trans person’s experiences. Additionally, I also had the complex task of analysing the data while endeavouring not to let my experiences eclipse the authenticity of participants’ narratives (whether this is at all possible in qualitative research is another debate entirely). Thus, I felt that the multitude and complexity of the positions that I was trying to juggle – researcher, outsider and ally – inhibited my ability to critically engage with the thematic narratives. For example, participants’ tendency to other and homogenise cisgender persons.

6.3 Research Contributions

This dissertation contributes to the expansion of transgender research in South Africa – particularly with regards to transgender youth. While most existing literature about sexual and gender minority youth in South Africa, either concentrates on LGB youth or incorporates very few trans youth as part of LGBTIQ+ samples, this dissertation focuses exclusively on the lived experiences of trans youth. This research also adds to transformative work within the field of psychology that aims to affirm minority gender and sexual identities (Victor et al., 2014), and marks an intentional departure from previous (and existing) narratives that pathologise trans persons.

This research also further emphasises the multiple physical and symbolic barriers that trans youth must negotiate daily, and the distress that results from these difficulties. While

this project aimed not to reduce trans lives to these experiences, it is of critical importance that these difficulties are discussed, as they can be life threatening. This dissertation also discusses, in detail, issues regarding the intersection of invisibility and hypervisibility for trans youth. While previous literature has explored these in relation to sexual orientation and race, little has been written about gender identity, and thus, this project has expanded this area of investigation.

Furthermore, this project adds to work within the wider social sciences that challenges the dominance of the 'at risk' paradigm and adult centred knowledges when researching young people. This dissertation intentionally highlights how young trans people negotiate and resist violent systems by showing the ways in which the participants directly challenged problematic, hegemonic narratives in their interviews and photo-stories. This project therefore shows that photo-narrative methods can privilege the expertise of young people and emphasise the ways that they are autonomous and capable of challenging unjust systems.

Additionally, this research also supports understandings of identity as fluid, and therefore supports alternative understandings of gender and sexual identities. And lastly, this research underscores the necessity of including young trans people in discussions about issues that impact their lives.

6.4 Study Limitations

The limitations of this study must be noted. The sample size for this project ($n = 5$) was much smaller than originally intended ($n = 10$). The small sample size inhibited the scope for diversity within the participant group. Therefore, even though qualitative research does not aim for generalisability, the findings cannot be said to be representative of all trans youths' experiences of Cape Town.

As mentioned in the methods chapter, recruitment issues meant that I was not able to work with a pre-existing group, and thus, the participatory action research (PAR) aspects of

the proposed project were not fully realised. Difficulties surrounding recruitment into the study, with a hard-to-reach sample, meant that the proposed methodological approach had to be adapted to the sample at hand. The eventual focus on narrative-oriented methods with Photovoice elements limited the participants' ownership of the project. The research process therefore became more 'my' project than theirs, and this affected the potential for contributing to participants' empowerment.

A critical analysis of the approach taken in this research revealed that aspects of the Photovoice methodology – such as the exhibition - perpetuated some of the visual scrutiny that trans youth experience in their daily lives. This detracted from the empowerment that participants could have gained from this project. In this regard, Holtby et al. (2015) offer two suggestions for making Photovoice projects less taxing for marginalised research participants. Firstly, they recommend that space should be created within the research process for discussions about representation and visual methodologies. Holtby et al. (2015) posit that talking about Photovoice as a wholly empowering process removes opportunities for participants to discuss the challenges of representation, and to critically reflect on the methods they are using. Therefore, research facilitators should work together with participants to incorporate such discussions into the focus groups or interviews. Secondly, 'participants should have as much control as they want, not as much control as possible,' (Holtby et al., 2015, p. 332). Participants should be allowed to decide from the beginning how much control and responsibility they want in the research process, and this may differ from group to group. Conversations around control and responsibility should give participants space to critique the methods being used, while simultaneously letting them know that they do not need to make *every* decision if they do not want to. Indeed, this can be a difficult balance to achieve. Holtby et al. (2015) also emphasise the importance of participants feeling in control of their photographs. One such strategy in this regard is for

participants to rate their photographs on a scale from one to three. A ‘one’ rating means that only those in the focus group or interview can view the photograph, a ‘two’ means that the image can be shared in a safe environment with a certain audience, and ‘three’ means that it can be shown anywhere.

6.5 Suggestions for Future Research

This dissertation has shown the difficulties that trans youth experience when they are forced to navigate exclusionary, binaried systems. Therefore, future research should aim to investigate ways in which the gender binary can be dismantled within institutional spaces and educational programming. Moreover, given the narratives of fluidity evident in the results, this transformational work should foreground the diverse and positional nature of gender and sexual identities, and explore how trans youth can be incorporated into this process. Participatory action research, photo-narratives and other ‘alternative’ methodologies can be useful in this regard – as has been demonstrated in this project.

Polarised experiences and feelings emerged as everyday occurrences in the narratives of participants in this project. Therefore, further work is needed to understand, in greater detail, what it means to live between/beyond binary constructions and binaries of experience. For example, what are the psychological implications, beyond being ‘at risk’ for mental illness and suicide attempts? And, how does this impact identity development in young trans persons? It would also be worthwhile to explore how trans youth engage in coping mechanisms and resilience strategies within these binary structures and experiences.

Given that this project worked with a small group of trans youth, I encourage future researchers to engage with larger and more diverse participant groups. It is also necessary to explore how gender and sexuality intersect with race, class, location and ability.

Lastly, to follow on from this study, more research is needed in South Africa that

focuses exclusively on trans youth, and not trans youth as part of the broader LGBTQI+ group.

6.6 Concluding Comments

In conclusion, this dissertation denotes an important shift in research approaches to young people's gender identity within South African mainstream psychology. It is hoped that this research forms a basis for future work with transgender youth in South Africa, and that this work continues to incorporate affirmative and empowering research practices. It is evident from this dissertation that much work is still needed, both locally and internationally, in order to create safe and supportive societies for trans youth. However, this research forms a small part of such transformative work. I would like to end with a final quote from Dana, which highlights the playfulness, creativity, and endless possibilities inherent in gender exploration:

I mean my favourite way to describe gender...if you've watched Dr Who, one of the quotes in that one is, "Time isn't really a straight line, it's just sort of this timey wimey stuff," and I'd love to use that for gender, it's not really a straight line and it's not really a curve, it's just a whole bunch of gendery bendery stuff.

Hopefully, with time, more trans youth will be able to experience their gender in this way.

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APPENDIX A: Recruitment Advertisement

Would you like to tell your story? Would you like to receive photography training?

If so, this opportunity might be for you!

The UCT Psychology Department in partnership with Triangle Project is looking to create a space where young transgender persons can share their stories through photography.

We are looking for 10 participants ranging in age from 18 to 24. You will receive FREE photography training and your work could be exhibited later in the year.

If you are interested or would like more information, please email:
uct.photovoice.project@gmail.com

Be a part of making trans* voices heard!



APPENDIX B: Transcription Key

...	Ellipses indicate that some of the participant's speech from the original transcription has been omitted from the quoted extract.
[]	Square brackets are used to indicate additional information, such as non-verbal gestures, laughter, or contextual information not evident from the extract.
<u>Underlined</u>	This is used to show emphasis.
!	An exclamation mark indicates that a participant was shouting or talking louder than usual.

APPENDIX C: First Interview Guide

Introduction and welcome

- Welcome participant and thank them for taking time to be here.
- Introduce myself and state my pronouns.
- Explain that these interviews form part of my Masters' research project that is exploring the lived experiences of young trans persons in Cape Town using stories and photography.
- Explain that this is not a question/answer interview but more of a conversation guided by some broad questions.
- Make clear that there are no right or wrong answers: You only have to talk about what you are comfortable sharing. There is no pressure to answer all questions.

Verbal explanation of informed consent

- There is no deception involved in this research.
- In terms of confidentiality and anonymity: The discussion is going to be recorded so that I can transcribe your comments accurately. All this information will be kept confidential and you will remain anonymous throughout the research process, unless you choose to disclose your identity for the photography exhibition. If you would like any comments to be removed from the transcript, you can also let me know. You are free to end the interview and withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.
- There are no anticipated risks of this study; however, the interview could bring up topics which are emotionally distressing. If you would like to contact a counsellor after the discussion, you can contact the organizations on the referral list.

- Please take a moment to read through the consent forms and sign where necessary.
- Do you have any questions and/or comments?

Broad guiding questions:

- Tell me about what it is like being a young trans person in Cape Town today...
- What difficulties do you face being a young trans person?
- What do you enjoy about being a young trans person?
- Tell me about your understanding of your gender and sexual identity...

Closing comments:

- Given all that we have discussed here today, think about what kind of story you would want to tell using photographs about being a young transgender person in Cape Town...

Photography training

- If needed, I will go through a brief photography training session with the participant.

Ending

- I will be in touch to arrange the next interview.
- Thank you for your time and for sharing your experiences.

APPENDIX D: Second Interview Guide

Introduction

- Welcome.
- How was the photography process?
- Do you have any questions and/or comments about informed consent before we start?
- Transfer photographs onto laptop.

Opening question:

Can you talk me through your photographs and tell me about the story you wanted to tell with each of them?

Possible prompts:

- What kind of story/stories are you aiming to tell about being a young transgender person with this photograph?
- What kind of story/stories are you aiming to tell about your gender/sexual identity with this photograph?
- Why have you chosen to tell it/them this way?
- Are there any photographs that are your favourites? Why are these your favourites?
- What was the experience of taking the photographs like?

Closing comments

- Do you have any questions or comments?
- Ask about interest in participating in the exhibition.
- Thank you for the time and effort that you have given to this project. Your contribution is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX E: Exhibition Advertisement

Trans–parency:
The Lives of South African Trans
Youth Told Through Photography

Thursday, 1st June 2017

6.30pm for 7pm

UCT Psychology Department foyer
(PD Hahn Psychology Building)

Refreshments will be served

RSVP: 30 May

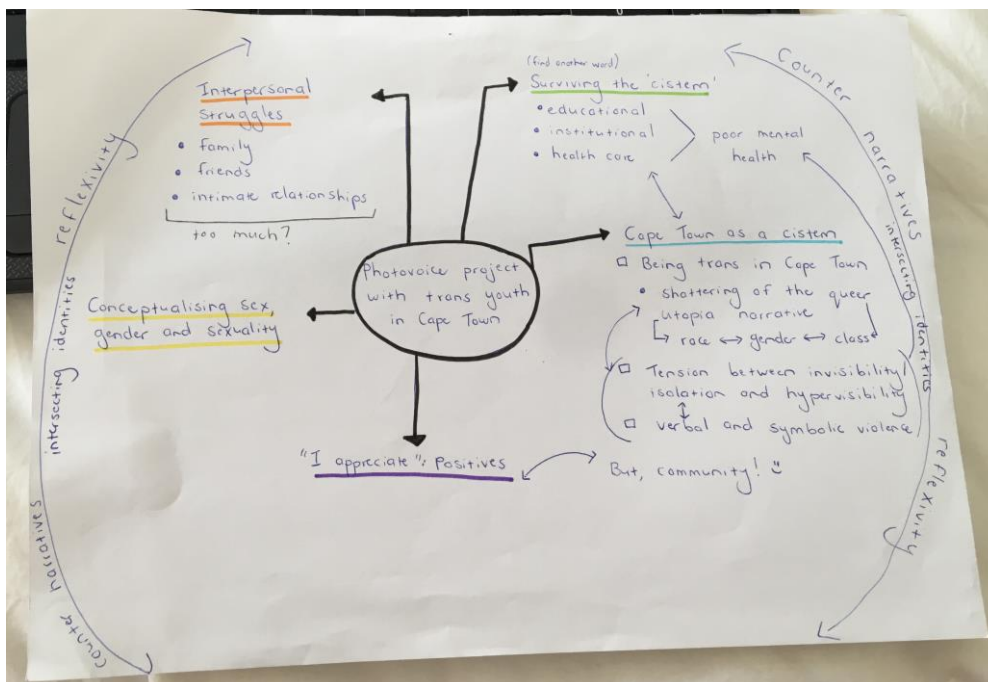
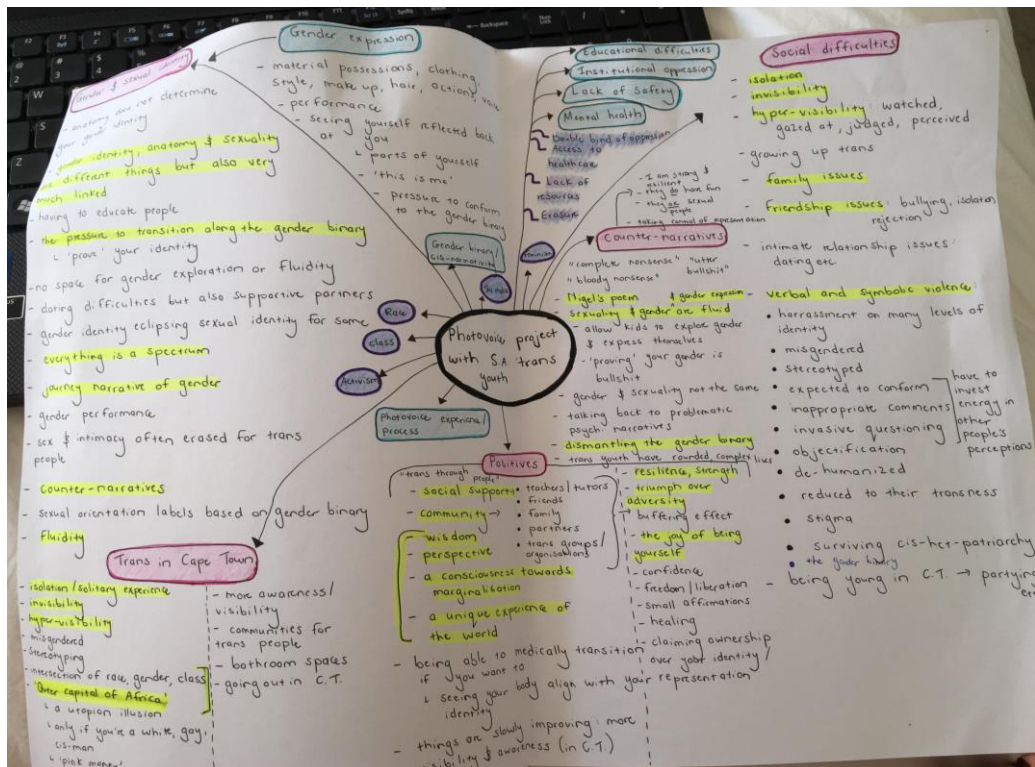
uct.photovoice.project@gmail.com

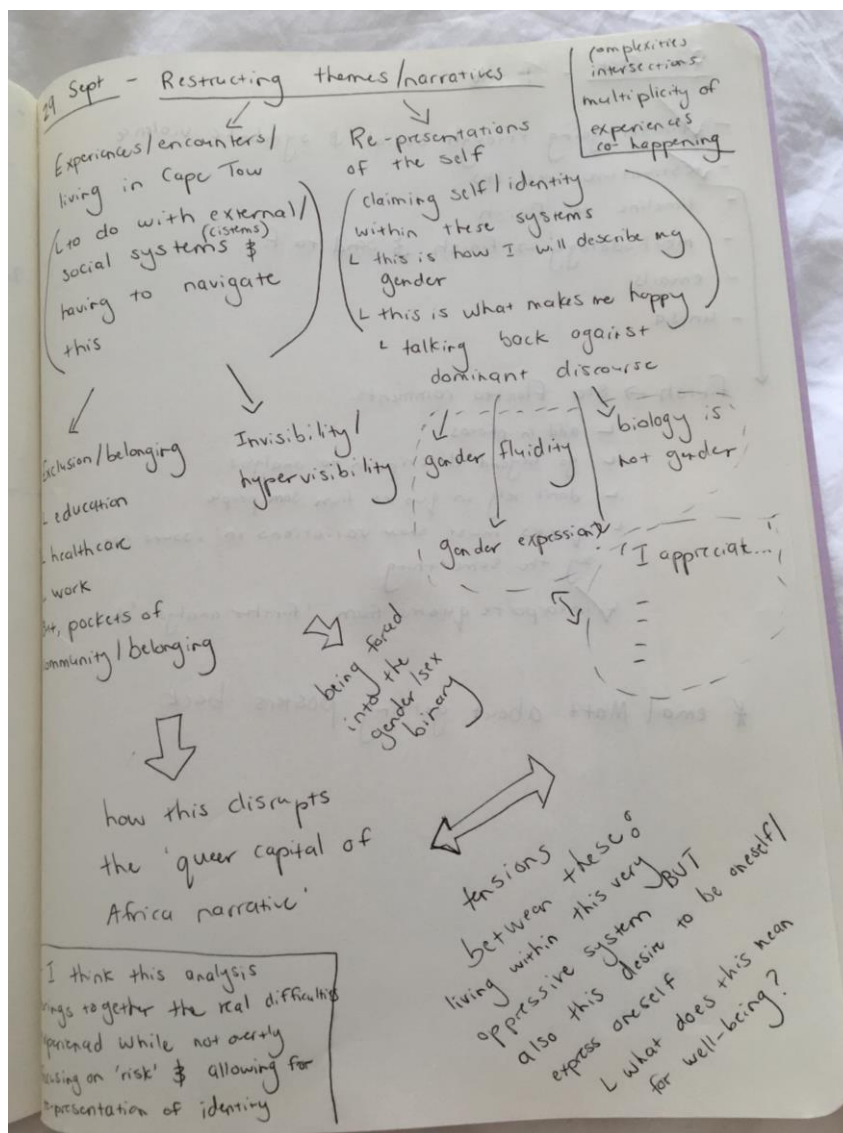


APPENDIX F: Initial Codes

Code	Sub-codes	Description
Difficulties	i. Access to healthcare ii. Educational iii. Erasure iv. Institutional exclusion v. Lack of resources vi. Mental health vii. Social	Quotes relating to any difficulties participants spoke about.
Gender binary or cis-heteronormativity	n/a	Quotes in which participants referred to the gender binary or cis-heteronormativity.
Identities	i. Class ii. Gender and sexual identity iii. Gender expression iv. Race	Quotes relating to aspects of identity.
Positives	n/a	Quotes in which participants referenced what they appreciated about being trans.
Alternative/counter narratives	n/a	Any quote where a participant was purposefully challenging a dominant narrative or indirectly drawing on an alternative narrative.
The media	n/a	Quotes which related to trans people in the media.
The Photovoice experience	n/a	Quotes in which participants discussed their experience of the Photovoice process.
Being trans in Cape Town	n/a	Quotes in which participants spoke specifically about being trans in Cape Town.
Meaningful/important quotes	n/a	Quotes that I found particularly profound, but that did not fit in any initial code.
Reflexive moments	n/a	Quotes that show instances where participants or myself reference my identity.

APPENDIX G: Mind Mapping of Themes





APPENDIX H: Project Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Department of Psychology

A Photovoice Project with South African Transgender Youth – Consent Form

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in an empowerment research project about the lives of transgender youth in South Africa. I am a researcher from the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

2. Procedures

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you can decide to stop participating in the study at any time, without any negative consequences.

If you decide to take part in the study you will be expected to do the following:

- Meet 2-3 times with the researcher. The meetings will include photography training and individual interviews. During these interviews we will talk about the project, your views and experiences of being a young transgender person and your photographs. The meetings will take place at a convenient venue which I will let you know about in advance, and will not last longer than two hours. The meetings will be audio recorded but I will make sure that your identity is protected in any of the information that I use from these discussions.
- Take photographs relating to what it means for you to be a young transgender person in Cape Town today. You will be given a camera to use for two weeks. Together we will select some of your best pictures and UCT will pay for the printing of the photos after you have taken them.
- Discuss your photos. You may also develop a story about your own photographs, which could be recorded into a video clip.
- If you like, we will display your photographs or digital stories at a public exhibition. You do not have to participate in the public event if you don't want to,

but if you do, you will decide which photographs or stories you would like to include and whether you would like to disclose your identity.

3. Inconveniences

I don't expect that you will be distressed by the research but if it does become distressing you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed by any of the procedures in this project we will refer you for counselling, if necessary.

You may withdraw from the study at any time and your withdrawal will have no negative consequences for you or your association with Triangle Project (if this is how you heard about the project).

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other programmes with young transgender people. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for your community. You will also receive some training in photography.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the principal researcher's office without your name or other personal identifiers.

Some of this research may be published in academic journals but your identity will be protected at all times.

6. Ownership of photographic material

The photographs and photo-stories you create during this project will belong to you, however, UCT and Triangle Project have permission to use them for research and advocacy work. Specifically, Triangle Project will be allowed to use such materials in other exhibits to raise money to fund ongoing work with LGBTI+ people in the Western Cape.

7. Money matters

You will not be paid for taking part in the study but you will receive a transport reimbursement to the value of R50. You will also be provided with some refreshments at each session.

UCT will cover costs for the printing of photographs and the exhibition.

8. Contact details

If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact one of the researchers at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town.

Dr Floretta Boonzaier (supervisor): 021 650 3429

Sorrel Pitcher (researcher): 083 442 8142

If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Ms Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.

If you understand all of the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX I: Audio Consent Form**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY****Consent to Audio Recording and Transcription****A Photovoice Project with South African Transgender Youth****Researcher: Sorrel Pitcher**

This study involves the audio recording of individual interviews. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audio recording or the transcript. Only my supervisor and I will be able to listen to the recordings.

Transcripts of the individual interviews may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

By signing this form, I am allowing the researcher to record my voice and transcribe my comments as part of this research.

Participant's signature

Date

APPENDIX J: Referral List

Referral List

Given below are two services that can offer help should you feel that you require any form of counselling or support after the discussion.

LifeLine

Services: 24 hour telephone counselling service. Specifically: rape counselling, trauma counselling, face to face counselling, and HIV/AIDS counselling.

Payment: Services are free of charge.

Office: 021 461-1113

Crisis: 021 461-111

Email: info@lifelinewc.org.za

Triangle Project

Services: Healthcare, one-on-one counselling, assistance with hate crimes and legislation, support groups and advocacy for LGBTQIA+ persons.

Good to now: Triangle Project has Safe Spaces: a project that assists with the establishment of activity hubs in various communities in Cape Town. Visit their website for more information (<http://triangle.org.za>).

Emergency Helpline: Triangle Projects provides a safe space for members of the LGBTQIA+ community to talk about absolutely anything and seek assistance with anything. Call them on +27 (0) 21 712 6699. Do note that the line is open from 1pm to 9pm, seven days a week.

Counselling: 081 257 6693

Address: 2nd Floor

Leadership House

Corner Burg and Shortmarket Streets

Greenmarket Square, Cape Town

Email: info@triangle.org.za